

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Published Quarterly by the Society for the Study of Social Problems

CONTENTS OF VOLUME 5, NOS. 1-4

JULY, 1957 TO APRIL, 1958

SYMPOSIA

(Contents of Symposia are listed below under "ARTICLES".)

SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE KIBBUTZ, Stanley Diamond, Consulting Editor	67-147
SYMPOSIUM ON CRIME, DELINQUENCY AND CORRECTIONS, Mabel A. Elliott and Frank E. Hartung, Consulting Editors	180-230
SYMPOSIUM ON ALCOHOLISM, Harold W. Demone, Jr., David J. Pittman and Austin L. Porterfield, Consulting Editors	294-338

ARTICLES

Baur, E. Jackson, and Marston M. McCluggage. <i>Drinking Patterns of Kansas High School Students</i>	317
Cahnman, Werner J. <i>Socio-economic Causes of Anti-Semitism</i>	21
Cressey, Donald R., and Witold Krassowski. <i>Inmate Organization and Anomie in American Prisons and Soviet Labor Camps</i>	217
Davis, James A., Howard E. Freeman, and Ozzie G. Simmons. <i>Rehospitalization and Performance Level Among Former Mental Patients</i>	37
Diamond, Stanley. <i>Kibbutz and Shtetl: The History of an Idea</i>	71
Elliott, Mabel A. <i>Perspective on the American Crime Problem</i>	184
Ellis, John M. <i>Socio-economic Differentials in Mortality from Chronic Diseases</i>	30
Finestone, Harold. <i>Cats, Kicks, and Color</i>	3
Freeman, Howard E. See Davis, James A.	37
Hakeem, Michael. <i>A Critique of the Psychiatric Approach to the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency</i>	194
Knobloch, Hilda. See Pasamanick, Benjamin	267
Krassowski, Witold. See Cressey, Donald R.	217
Lazarsfeld, Paul A., and Wagner Thielens, Jr. <i>Social Scientists and Recent Threats to Academic Freedom</i>	244
Masters, Nichols. See Sheppard, Harold L.	14
Maxwell, Milton A. See Peterson, W. Jack	308
McCluggage, Marston M. See Baur, E. Jackson	317
Nye, F. Ivan. See Short, James F., Jr.	207
O'Neal, Patricia. See Robins, Lee N.	347
Pasamanick, Benjamin, and Hilda Knobloch. <i>Race, Complications of Pregnancy, and Neuropsychiatric Disorder</i>	267
Peterson, W. Jack, and Milton A. Maxwell. <i>The Skid Road "Wino"</i>	308
Pittman, David J. See Trice, Harrison M.	294
Polk, Kenneth. <i>Juvenile Delinquency and Social Areas</i>	214
Porterfield, Austin. <i>Alcoholism and Selected Social Characteristics</i>	226
Robins, Lee N., and Patricia O'Neal. <i>The Marital History of Former Problem Children</i>	347
Rosenfeld, Eva. <i>Institutional Change in the Kibbutz</i>	110
Schwartz, Richard D. <i>Democracy and Collectivism in the Kibbutz</i>	137
Sheppard, Harold L., and Nicholas Masters. <i>Union Political Action and Opinion Polls in a Democratic Society</i>	14
Short, James F., Jr., and F. Ivan Nye. <i>Reported Behavior as a Criterion of Deviant Behavior</i>	207

Index to Volume 5

Shuval, Judith T. <i>Some Persistent Effects of Trauma: Five Years After the Nazi Concentration Camps</i>	230
Simmons, Ozzie G. See Davis, James A.	37
Spiro, Melford E. <i>The Sabras and Zionism: A Study in Personality and Ideology</i>	100
Thielens, Wagner, Jr. See Lazarsfeld, Paul A.	244
Trice, Harrison M., and David J. Pittman. <i>Social Organization and Alcoholism: A Review of Significant Research Since 1940</i>	294
Weinberg, S. Kirson. <i>Static and Dynamic Models in Social Disorganization Theory</i>	339

BOOK REVIEWS

ALEXANDER, FRANZ AND HUGO STAUB, <i>The Criminal, the Judge, and the Public: A Psychological Analysis</i> . Frank E. Hartung	364
BELLAH, ROBERT N. <i>Tokugawa Religion</i> . J. Milton Yinger	49
BERNARD, JESSIE. <i>Social Problems at Midcentury</i> . Charles K. Warriner	279
BOSSARD, JAMES H. AND ELEANOR STOCKER BOLL, <i>One Marriage Two Faiths</i> . Ralph P. Bridgman	361
KUPER, LEO. <i>Resistance in South Africa</i> . Mark H. Watkins	363
CLINARD, MARSHALL B. <i>Sociology of Deviant Behavior</i> . Albert K. Cohen	280
DE KIEWIET, D. W. <i>The Anatomy of South African Misery</i> . Mark H. Watkins	363
DUNCAN, OTIS D., and BEVERLY DUNCAN. <i>The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Succession</i> . Donald O. Cogwill	359
FRAZIER E. FRANKLIN <i>Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in The United States</i> . Wilson Record	44
GLICK, PAUL C. <i>American Families</i> . Robert O. Blood, Jr.	46
KOMAROVSKY, MIRRA (Editor). <i>Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences</i> . Roscoe C. Hinkle, Jr.	47
KORNHAUSSER, ARTHUR. <i>When Labor Votes</i> . Leonard Reissman	282
KUPER, LEO. <i>Resistance in South Africa</i> . Mark H. Watkins	363
NEUSTATTER, W. LINDESAY, <i>The Mind of the Murderer</i> . Max N. Burchard	365
SNYDER, CHARLES R. <i>Alcohol and the Jews: A Cultural Study of Drinking and Sobriety</i> . Milton L. Barron	358
SOMERVILLE, JOHN <i>The Communist Trials and the American Tradition</i> . Lewis A. Coser	50
SPIRO, MELFORD E. <i>Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia</i> . Raphael Patai	147
UNDERWOOD, KENNETH W. <i>Protestant and Catholic: Religious and Social Interaction in an Industrial Community</i> . Thomas F. Hoult	360
(UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY). <i>Attitudes of High School Students Toward Alcoholic Beverages</i> . Milton L. Barron	358
WEINGARTEN, MURRAY. <i>Life in a Kibbutz</i> . Raphael Patai.	147

REVIEWERS

Barron, Milton	358	Hinkle, Roscoe C., Jr.	47
Blood, Robert O., Jr.	46	Hoult, Thomas F.	360
Bridgman, Ralph P.	361	Patai, Raphael	147
Burchard, Max N.	365	Record, Wilson	44
Cohen, Albert K.	280	Reissman, Leonard	282
Coser, Lewis A.	50	Warriner, Charles K.	279
Cowgill, Donald O.	359	Watkins, Mark H.	363
Gordon, Milton M.	281	Yinger, J. Milton	49
Hartung, Frank E.	364		

NEWS, REPORTS, AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

52-63, 153-172, 283-288, 366-369

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

VOLUME 5

JULY, 1957

NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

Cats, Kicks, and Color	HAROLD FINESTONE	3
Union Political Action and Opinion Polls in a Democratic Society HAROLD L. SHEPPARD and NICHOLAS MASTERS		14
Socio-economic Causes of Antisemitism	WERNER J. CAHNMAN	21
Socio-economic Differentials in Mortality from Chronic Diseases JOHN M. ELLIS		30
Rehospitalization and Performance Level among Former Mental Patients JAMES A. DAVIS, HOWARD E. FREEMAN and OZZIE G. SIMMONS		37

BOOK REVIEWS

E. Franklin Frazier, <i>Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States</i>	WILSON RECORD	44
Paul C. Glick, <i>American Families</i>	ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR.	46
Mirra Komarovsky, ed., <i>Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences</i>	ROSCOE C. HINKLE, JR.	47
Robert N. Bellah, <i>Tokugawa Religion</i>	J. MILTON YINGER	49
John Somerville, <i>The Communist Trials and the American Tradition</i>	LEWIS A. COSER	50
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED		51
REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS		52
COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION		62

The Society For The Study Of Social Problems

affiliated with the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1956-1957

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

<i>President</i>	MABEL A. ELLIOTT	Chatham College, Pittsburgh
<i>President-Elect</i>	BYRON FOX	Syracuse University
<i>Vice-President</i>	RICHARD A. SCHERMERHORN	Western Reserve University
<i>Secretary</i>	HARRY W. ROBERTS	Virginia State College
<i>Treasurer</i>	SIDNEY H. ARONSON	Brooklyn College
<i>Other Members</i>	JESSIE BERNARD	Pennsylvania State University
	ROBERT BIERSTEDT	City College of New York
	HERBERT BLUMER	University of California at Berkeley
	E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER	Howard University
	ALFRED M. LEE	Brooklyn College
	ALFRED LINDESMITH	University of Indiana
	ARNOLD M. ROSE	University of Minnesota
	PAULINE YOUNG	Modesto, California
	THOMAS D. ELIOT	Walworth, Wisconsin
	<i>Ex officio</i>	

CHAIRMEN OF REGULAR COMMITTEES

Byron L. Fox, Syracuse U., *Permanent Organization*; Glaister Elmer, Rand Corporation, Grandview, Mo., *Elections*; Irving Goldaber, N.Y.C. Commission on Intergroup Relations, *Promotion and Publicity*; Elizabeth B. Lee, 100 Coolidge St., Malverne, L. I., *Standards and Freedom of Research, Publication and Teaching*; Frank F. Lee, U. of California, Riverside, *Coordinator of Special Problems Committees*; Paul Meadows, U. of Nebraska, *Editorial and Publications*; Henry J. Meyer, New York U., *SSSP-SPSSI Program*; Eva J. Ross, Trinity College, *Local Arrangements for Annual Meeting*; Odin W. Anderson, National Health Foundation, N. Y. C., *Budget, Auditing and Finance*; Marvin Sussman, Western Reserve U., *Program for Annual Meeting*; George H. Weber, Youth Conservation Commission, St. Paul, *New Projects*; Mabel A. Elliott, Chatham College, Pittsburgh, *ex officio, Liaison with Other Organizations*, W. F. Cottrell, Miami University, Oxford, O., *Helen L. DeRoy Award*.

CHAIRMEN OF SPECIAL PROBLEMS COMMITTEES

Frank L. Sweetser, Jr., Boston U., *Community Research and Development*; Bruce L. Melvin, U. of Maryland, *War and Peace*; Warren Breed, Tulane U., *Invidious Intergroup Relations*; Paul Oren, Jr., Kent State U., *Mental Health*; Odin W. Anderson, Health Information Foundation, N. Y. C., *Sociology of Physical Health*; Joseph R. Gusfield, U. of Illinois, *Organizational Dynamics*; Erwir O. Smigel, Indiana U., *Occupational Problems*; Austin L. Porterfield, Texas U., *Alcoholism*; Martin H. Neumeyer, U. of Southern California, *Crime and Delinquency*; Arthur Hillman, *Sociology and Social Work*.

CATS, KICKS, AND COLOR*

HAROLD FINESTONE

Chicago Area Project

Growing recognition that the most recent manifestation of the use of opiates in this country has been predominantly a young peoples' problem has resulted in some speculation as to the nature of this generation of drug users. Is it possible to form an accurate conception as to what "manner of man" is represented by the current species of young drug addict? Intensive interviews between 1951 and 1953 with over fifty male colored users of heroin in their late teens and early twenties selected from several of the areas of highest incidence of drug use in Chicago served to elicit from them the expression of many common attitudes, values, schemes of behavior, and general social orientation. Moreover, since there was every reason to believe that such similarities had preceded their introduction to heroin, it appeared that it was by virtue of such shared features that they had been unusually receptive to the spread of opiate use. Methodologically, their common patterns of behavior suggested the heuristic value of the construction of a social type. The task of this paper is to depict this social type, and to present a hypothetical formulation to account for the form it has taken.

No special justification appears to be necessary for concentrating in this paper on the social type of the young colored drug user. One of the dis-

tinctive properties of the distribution of drug use as a social problem, at least in Chicago, is its high degree of both spatial and racial concentration. In fact, it is a problem which in this city can be pinpointed with great accuracy as having its incidence preponderantly among the young male colored persons in a comparatively few local community areas. The following delineation of the generic characteristics of young colored drug users constitutes in many respects an ideal type. No single drug addict exemplified all of the traits to be depicted but all of them revealed several of them to a marked degree.

The young drug user was a creature of contrasts. Playing the role of the fugitive and pariah as he was inevitably forced to do, he turned up for interviews in a uniformly ragged and dirty condition. And yet he talked with an air of superiority derived from his identification with an elite group, the society of "cats." He came in wearing a non-functional tie clip attached to his sport shirt and an expensive hat as the only indications that he was concerned with his appearance and yet displayed in his conversation a highly developed sense of taste in men's clothing and a high valuation upon dressing well. He came from what were externally the drabdest, most overcrowded, and physically deteriorated sections of the city and yet discussed his pattern of living as though it were a consciously cultivated work of art.

Despite the location of his social world in the "asphalt jungle" of the "Blackbelt" he strictly eschewed the use of force and violence as a technique for achieving his ends or for the settling of problematic situations. He achieved his goals by indirection, relying, rather, on persuasion and on

*This investigation was supported by research grant 3M 9030 from the National Institute of Mental Health, Public Health Service, and was carried on under the direction of Clifford R. Shaw and Solomon Kobrin. The writer acknowledges the generous assistance received in the clarification of the problems dealt with in this paper through discussions with Clifford R. Shaw, Henry D. McKay, and Solomon Kobrin, supervising sociologists at the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research and the Chicago Area Project.

a repertoire of manipulative techniques. To deal with a variety of challenging situations, such as those arising out of his contacts with the police, with his past or potential victims, and with jilted "chicks," etc., he used his wits and his conversational ability. To be able to confront such contingencies with adequacy and without resort to violence was to be "cool." His idea was to get what he wanted through persuasion and ingratiation; to use the other fellow by deliberately outwitting him. Indeed, he regarded himself as immeasurably superior to the "gorilla," a person who resorted to force.

The image of himself as "operator" was projected onto the whole world about him and led to a complete scepticism as to other persons' motives. He could relate to people by outsmarting them, or through open-handed and often ruinous generosity, but his world seemed to preclude any relationship which was not part of a "scheme" or did not lend itself to an "angle." The most difficult puzzle for him to solve was the "square," the honest man. On the one hand the "square" was the hard-working plodder who lived by routine and who took honesty and the other virtues at their face value. As such he constituted the prize victim for the cat. On the other hand the cat harbored the sneaking suspicion that some squares were smarter than he, because they could enjoy all the forbidden pleasures which were his stock in trade and maintain a reputation for respectability in the bargain.

The cat had a large, colorful, and discriminating vocabulary which dealt with all phases of his experience with drugs. In addition, he never seemed to content himself with the conventional word for even the most commonplace objects. Thus he used "pad" for house, "pecks" for food, "flicks" for movies, "stick hall" for

pool hall, "dig the scene" for observe, "box" for record player, "bread" for money, etc. In each instance the word he used was more concrete or earthier than the conventional word and such as to reveal an attitude of subtle ridicule towards the dignity and conventionality inherent in the common usage.

His soft convincing manner of speaking, the shocking earthiness and fancifulness of his vocabulary, together with the formidable gifts of charm and ingratiation which he deployed, all contributed to the dominant impression which the young drug user made as a person. Such traits would seem to have fitted naturally into a role which some cats had already played or aspired to play, that of the pimp. To be supported in idleness and luxury through the labors of one or more attractive "chicks" who shoplifted or engaged in prostitution or both and dutifully handed over the proceeds was one of his favorite fantasies. In contrast with the milieu of the white underworld, the pimp was not an object of opprobrium but of prestige.

The theme of the exploitation of the woman goes close to the heart of the cat's orientation to life, that is, his attitude towards work. Part of the cat's sense of superiority stems from his aristocratic disdain for work and for the subordination of self to superiors and to the repetitive daily routine entailed by work, which he regards as intolerable. The "square" is a person who toils for regular wages and who takes orders from his superiors without complaint.

In contrast with the "square," the cat gets by without working. Instead he keeps himself in "bread" by a set of ingenious variations on "begging, borrowing, or stealing." Each cat has his "hustle" (4), and a "hustle" is any non-violent means of "making some bread" which does not require

work. One of the legendary heroes of the cat is the man who is such a skillful con-man that he can sell "State Street" to his victim. Concretely, the cat is a petty thief, pick-pocket, or pool shark, or is engaged in a variety of other illegal activities of the "conning" variety. A very few cats are actually living off the proceeds of their women "on the hustle."

The main purpose of life for the cat is to experience the "kick." Just as every cat takes pride in his "hustle," so every cat cultivates his "kick." A "kick" is any act tabooed by "squares" that heightens and intensifies the present moment of experience and differentiates it as much as possible from the humdrum routine of daily life. Sex in any of its conventional expressions is not a "kick" since this would not serve to distinguish the cat from the "square," but orgies of sex behavior and a dabbling in the various perversions and byways of sex pass muster as "kicks." Some "cats" are on an alcohol "kick," others on a marihuana "kick," and others on a heroin "kick." There is some interchangeability among these various "kicks" but the tendency is to select your "kick" and stay with it. Many of these young drug users, however, had progressed from the alcohol to the marihuana to the heroin "kick." Each "kick" has its own lore of appreciation and connoisseurship into which only its devotees are initiated.

In addition to his "kick" the cat sets great store on the enjoyment of music and on proper dress. To enjoy one's "kick" without a background of popular music is inconceivable. The cat's world of music has a distinctive galaxy of stars, and the brightest luminaries in his firmament are performers such as "Yardbird" (the late Charlie Parker) and disc jockeys such as Al Benson. Almost every cat is a frustrated musician who hopes some day to get his "horn"

out of pawn, take lessons, and earn fame and fortune in the field of "progressive music."

The cat places a great deal of emphasis upon clothing and exercises his sartorial talents upon a skeletal base of suit, sport shirt, and hat. The suit itself must be conservative in color. Gaiety is introduced through the selection of the sport shirt and the various accessories, all so chosen and harmonized as to reveal an exquisite sense of taste. When the cat was not talking about getting his clothes out of pawn, he talked about getting them out of the cleaners. With nonchalant pride one drug user insisted that the most expensive sport shirts and hats in the city of Chicago were sold in a certain haberdashery on the South Side. The ideal cat would always appear in public impeccably dressed and be able to sport a complete change of outfit several times a day.

The cat seeks through a harmonious combination of charm, ingratiating speech, dress, music, the proper dedication to his "kick," and unrestrained generosity to make of his day to day life itself a gracious work of art. Everything is to be pleasant and everything he does and values is to contribute to a cultivated aesthetic approach to living. The "cool cat" exemplifies all of these elements in proper balance. He demonstrates his ability to "play it cool" in his unruffled manner of dealing with outsiders such as the police, and in the self-assurance with which he confronts emergencies in the society of "cats." Moreover, the "cat" feels himself to be any man's equal. He is convinced that he can go anywhere and mingle easily with anyone. For example, he rejects the type of music designated "the blues" because for him it symbolizes attitudes of submission and resignation which are re-

pugnant and alien to his customary frame of mind.

It can be seen now why heroin use should make such a powerful appeal to the cat. It was the ultimate "kick." No substance was more profoundly tabooed by conventional middle-class society. Regular heroin use provides a sense of maximal social differentiation from the "square." The cat was at last engaged, he felt, in an activity completely beyond the comprehension of the "square." No other "kick" offered such an instantaneous intensification of the immediate moment of experience and set it apart from everyday experience in such spectacular fashion. Any words used by the cat to apply to the "kick," the experience of "being high," he applied to heroin in the superlative. It was the "greatest kick of them all."

In the formulation now to be presented the cat as a social type is viewed as a manifestation of a process of social change in which a new type of self-conception has been emerging among the adolescents of the lower socio-economic levels of the colored population in large urban centers. It is a self-conception rooted in the types of accommodation to a subordinate status achieved historically by the colored race in this country, a self-conception which has become increasingly articulated as it responded to and selected various themes from the many available to it in the milieu of the modern metropolis. Blumer's classification of social movements into general, specific, or expressive, appears to provide a useful framework for the analysis of the social type of the cat. (2)

In terms of these categories the cat as a social type is the personal counterpart of an expressive social movement. The context for such a movement must include the broader community, which, by its policies of so-

cial segregation and discrimination, has withheld from individuals of the colored population the opportunity to achieve or to identify with status positions in the larger society. The social type of the cat is an expression of one possible type of adaptation to such blocking and frustration, in which a segment of the population turns in upon itself and attempts to develop within itself criteria for the achievement of social status and the rudiments of a satisfactory social life. Within his own isolated social world the cat attempts to give form and purpose to dispositions derived from but denied an outlet within the dominant social order.

What are these dispositions and in what sense may they be said to be derived from the dominant social order? Among the various interrelated facets of the life of the cat two themes are central, those of the "hustle" and the "kick." It is to be noted that they are in direct antithesis to two of the central values of the dominant culture, the "hustle" versus the paramount importance of the occupation for the male in our society, and the "kick" versus the importance of regulating conduct in terms of its future consequences. Thus, there appears to be a relationship of conflict between the central themes of the social type of the cat and those of the dominant social order. As a form of expressive behavior, however, the social type of the cat represents an indirect rather than a direct attack against central conventional values.

It is interesting to speculate on the reasons why a type such as the cat should emerge rather than a social movement with the objective of changing the social order. The forces coercing the selective process among colored male adolescents in the direction of expressive social movements are probably to be traced to the long

tradition of accommodation to a subordinate status on the part of the Negro as well as to the social climate since the Second World War, which does not seem to have been favorable to the formation of specific social movements.

The themes of the "hustle" and "kick" in the social orientation of the cat are facts which appear to be overdetermined. For example, to grasp the meaning of the "hustle" to the cat one must understand it as a rejection of the obligation of the adult male to work. When asked for the reasons underlying his rejection of work the cat did not refer to the uncongenial and relatively unskilled and low paid jobs which, in large part, were the sole types of employment available to him. He emphasized rather that the routine of a job and the demand that he should apply himself continuously to his work task were the features that made work intolerable for him. The self-constraint required by work was construed as an unwarranted damper upon his love of spontaneity. The other undesirable element from his point of view was the authoritarian setting of most types of work with which he was familiar.

There are undoubtedly many reasons for the cat's rejection of work but the reasons he actually verbalized are particularly significant when interpreted as devices for sustaining his self-conception. The cat's feeling of superiority would be openly challenged were he to confront certain of the social realities of his situation, such as the discrimination exercised against colored persons looking for work and the fact that only the lowest status jobs are available to him. He avoided any mention of these factors which would have forced him to confront his true position in society and thus posed a threat to his carefully cherished sense of superiority.

In emphasizing as he does the importance of the "kick" the cat is attacking the value our society places upon planning for the future and the responsibility of the individual for such planning. Planning always requires some subordination and disciplining of present behavior in the interest of future rewards. The individual plans to go to college, plans for his career, plans for his family and children, etc. Such an orientation on the part of the individual is merely the personal and subjective counterpart of a stable social order and of stable social institutions, which not only permit but sanction an orderly progression of expectations with reference to others and to one's self. Where such stable institutions are absent or in the inchoate stages of development, there is little social sanction for such planning in the experience of the individual. Whatever studies are available strongly suggest that such are the conditions which tend to prevail in the lower socioeconomic levels of the Negro urban community. (3) Stable family and community organization is lacking in those areas of the city where drug use is concentrated. A social milieu which does not encourage the subordination and disciplining of present conduct in the interests of future rewards tends by default to enhance the present. The "kick" appears to be a logical culmination of this emphasis.

Accepting the emergence of the self-conception of the cat as evidence of a developing expressive social movement, we may phrase the central theoretical problem as follows: What are the distinctive and generic features of the cat's social orientation? Taking a cue from the work of Huizinga as developed in *Homo Ludens* (7), we propose that the generic characteristics of the social type of the cat are those of play. In what follows, Huiz-

inga's conception of play as a distinctive type of human activity will be presented and then applied as a tool of analysis for rendering intelligible the various facets of the social orientation of the cat. It is believed that the concept of play indicates accurately the type of expressive social movement which receives its embodiment in the cat.

According to Huizinga the concept of play is a primary element of human experience and as such is not susceptible to exact definition.

"The *fun* of playing resists all analysis, all logical interpretation . . . Nevertheless it is precisely this fun element that characterizes the essence of play." (7, p.3) The common image of the young colored drug addict pictures him as a pitiful figure, a trapped unfortunate. There is a certain amount of truth in this image but it does not correspond to the conception which the young colored addict has of himself or to the impression that he tries to communicate to others. If it were entirely true it would be difficult to square with the fact that substantial numbers of young colored persons continue to become drug users. The cat experiences and manifests a certain zest in his mode of life which is far from self-pity. This fun element seemed to come particularly to the fore as the cat recounted his search for "kicks," the adventure of his life on the streets, and the intensity of his contest against the whole world to maintain his supply of drugs. Early in the cycle of heroin use itself there was invariably a "honeymoon" stage when the cat abandoned himself most completely to the experience of the drug. For some cats this "honeymoon" stage, in terms of their ecstatic preoccupation with the drug, was perpetual. For others it passed, but the exigencies of an insatiable habit never seemed to destroy com-

pletely the cat's sense of excitement in his way of life.

While Huizinga declines to define play, he does enumerate three characteristics which he considers to be proper to play. Each one of them when applied to the cat serves to indicate a generic feature of his social orientation.

(a) "First and foremost . . . all play is a voluntary activity." (7, p.7) "Here we have the first main characteristic of play: that it is free, is in fact freedom." (7, p.8) The concept of an expressive social movement assumes a social situation where existing social arrangements are frustrating and are no longer accepted as legitimate and yet where collective activity directed towards the modification of these limitations is not possible. The cat is "free" in the sense that he is a pre-eminent candidate for new forms of social organization and novel social practices. He is attempting to escape from certain features of the historical traditions of the Negro which he regards as humiliating. As an adolescent or young adult he is not fully assimilated into such social institutions as the family, school, church, or industry which may be available to him. Moreover, the social institutions which the Negroes brought with them when they migrated to the city have not as yet achieved stability or an adequate functioning relationship to the urban environment. As a Negro, and particularly as a Negro of low socio-economic status, he is excluded from many socializing experiences which adolescents in more advantaged sectors of the society take for granted. He lives in communities where the capacity of the population for effective collective action is extremely limited, and consequently there are few effective controls on his conduct besides that exercised by his peer group itself.

He is fascinated by the varied "scenes" which the big city spreads out before him. Granted this setting, the cat adopts an adventurous attitude to life and is free to give his allegiance to new forms of activity.

(b) A second characteristic is closely connected with this (that is, the first characteristic of freedom), namely, that play is not "ordinary" or "real" life. It is rather a stepping out of "real" life into a temporary sphere of activity with a disposition all of its own. Every child knows perfectly well that he is "only pretending," or that it was "only for fun." This "only pretending" quality of play betrays a consciousness of the inferiority of play compared with "seriousness," a feeling that seems to be something as primary as play itself. Nevertheless . . . the consciousness of play being "only a pretend" does not by any means prevent it from proceeding with the utmost seriousness, with an absorption, a devotion that passes into rapture and, temporarily at least, completely abolishes that troublesome "only" feeling. (7, p.8)

It is implicit in the notion of an expressive social movement that, since direct collective action to modify the sources of dissatisfaction and restlessness is not possible, all such movements should appear under one guise, as forms of "escape." Persons viewing the problem of addiction from the perspective of the established social structure have been prone to make this interpretation. It is a gross oversimplification, however, as considered from the perspective of the young drug addict himself. The emergence of the self-conception of the cat is an attempt to deal with the problems of status and identity in a situation where participation in the life of the broader community is denied, but where the colored adolescent is becoming increasingly sensitive to the values, the goals, and the notions of success which obtain in the dominant social order.

The caste pressures thus make it exceedingly difficult for an American Negro to preserve a true perspective

of himself and his own group in relation to the larger white society. The increasing abstract knowledge of the world outside—of its opportunities, its rewards, its different norms of competition and cooperation—which results from the proceeding acculturation at the same time as there is increasing group isolation, only increases the tensions. (8)

Such conditions of group isolation would appear to be fairly uniform throughout the Negro group. Although this isolation may be experienced differently at different social levels of the Negro community, certain features of the adaptations arrived at in response to this problem will tend to reveal similarities. Since the struggle for status takes place on a stage where there is acute sensitivity to the values and status criteria of the dominant white group, but where access to the means through which such values may be achieved is prohibited, the status struggle turning in on itself will assume a variety of distorted forms. Exclusion from the "serious" concerns of the broader community will result in such adaptations manifesting a strong element of "play."

Frazier in *Black Bourgeoisie* discusses the social adaptation of the Negro middle class as "The World of Make-Believe." (5)

The emphasis upon "social" life or "society" is one of the main props of the world of make-believe into which the black bourgeoisie has sought an escape from its inferiority and frustrations in American society. This world of make-believe, to be sure, is a reflection of the values of American society, but it lacks the economic basis that would give it roots in the world of reality. (5, p.237)

In the Negro lower classes the effects of frustrations deriving from subordination to the whites may not be experienced as personally or as directly as it is by the Negro middle class, but the massive effects of residential segregation and the lack of

stable social institutions and community organization are such as to reinforce strong feelings of group isolation even at the lowest levels of the society.

It is here suggested that the function performed by the emergence of the social type of the cat among Negro lower class adolescents is analogous to that performed by "The World of Make-Believe" in the Negro middle class. The development of a social type such as that of the cat is only possible in a situation where there is isolation from the broader community but great sensitivity to its goals, where the peer group pressures are extremely powerful, where institutional structures are weak, where models of success in the illegitimate world have strong appeals, where specific social movements are not possible, and where novel forms of behavior have great prestige. To give significance to his experience, the young male addict has developed the conception of a heroic figure, the "ideal cat," a person who is completely adequate to all situations, who controls his "kick" rather than letting it control him, who has a lucrative "hustle," who has no illusions as to what makes the world "tick," who is any man's equal, who basks in the admiration of his brother cats and associated "chicks," who hob-nobs with "celebs" of the musical world, and who in time himself may become a celebrity.

The cat throws himself into his way of life with a great deal of intensity but he cannot escape completely from the perspective, the judgments, and the sanctions of the dominant social order. He has to make place in his scheme of life for police, lockups, jails, and penitentiaries, to say nothing of the agonies of withdrawal distress. He is forced eventually to confront the fact that his role as a

cat with its associated attitudes is largely a pose, a form of fantasy with little basis in fact. With the realization that he is addicted he comes only too well to know that he is a "junky," and he is fully aware of the conventional attitudes towards addicts as well as of the counter-rationalizations provided by his peer group. It is possible that the cat's vacillation with regard to seeking a cure for his addiction is due to a conflict of perspectives, whether to view his habit from the cat's or the dominant social order's point of view.

(c) Play is distinct from "ordinary" life both as to locality and duration. This is the third main characteristic of play: its secludedness, its limitedness. It is "played out" within certain limits of time and place. It contains its own course and meaning." (7, p.9)

It is this limited, esoteric character of heroin use which gives to the cat the feeling of belonging to an elite. It is the restricted extent of the distribution of drug use, the scheming and intrigue associated with underground "connections" through which drugs are obtained, the secret lore of the appreciation of the drug's effects, which give the cat the exhilaration of participating in a conspiracy. Contrary to popular conception most drug users were not anxious to proselyte new users. Of course, spreading the habit would have the function of increasing the possible sources of supply. But an equally strong disposition was to keep the knowledge of drug use secret, to impress and dazzle the audience with one's knowledge of being "in the know." When proselyting did occur, as in jails or lockups, it was proselyting on the part of a devotee who condescended to share with the uninitiated a highly prized practice and set of attitudes.

As he elaborates his analysis of play, Huizinga brings to the fore additional aspects of the concept which

also have their apt counterpart in the way of life of the cat. For instance, as was discussed earlier, the cat's appreciation of "progressive music" is an essential part of his social orientation. About this topic Huizinga remarks, "Music, as we have hinted before, is the highest and purest expression of the *facultas ludendi*." (7, p. 187) The cat's attitude toward music has a sacred, almost mystical quality. "Progressive music" opens doors to a type of highly valued experience which for him can be had in no other way. It is more important to him than eating and is second only to the "kick." He may have to give up his hope of dressing according to his standards but he never gives up music.

Huizinga also observes, "Many and close are the links that connect play with beauty." (7, p.7) He refers to the "profoundly aesthetic quality of play." (7, p.2) The aesthetic emphasis which seems so central to the style of living of the cat is a subtle elusive accent permeating his whole outlook but coming to clearest expression in a constellation of interests, the "kick," clothing, and music. And it certainly reaches a level of awareness in their language. Language is utilized by the cat with a conscious relish, with many variations and individual turns of phrase indicating the value placed upon creative expression in this medium.

It is to be noted that much of the description of the cat's attributes did not deal exclusively with elements unique to him. Many of the features mentioned are prevalent among adolescents in all reaches of the status scale. Dress, music, language, and the search for pleasure are all familiar themes of the adolescent world. For instance, in his description of the adolescent "youth culture" Talcott Parsons would appear to be presenting

the generic traits of a "play-form" with particular reference to its expression in the middle class.

It is at the point of emergence into adolescence that there first begins to develop a set of patterns and behavior phenomena which involve a highly complex combination of age grading and sex role elements. These may be referred to together as the phenomena of the "youth culture". . . .

Perhaps the best single point of reference for characterizing the youth culture lies in its contrast with the dominant pattern of the adult male role. By contrast with the emphasis on responsibility in this role, the orientation of the youth culture is more or less specifically irresponsible. One of its dominant roles is "having a good time". . . . It is very definitely a rounded humanistic pattern rather than one of competence in the performance of specified functions. (9)

Such significant similarities between this description and the themes of the social type of the cat only tend to reinforce the notion that the recent spread of heroin use was a problem of adolescence. The cat is an adolescent sharing many of the interests of his age-mates everywhere but confronted by a special set of problems of color, tradition, and identity.

The social orientation of the cat, with its emphasis on non-violence, was quite in contrast to the orientation of the smaller group of young white drug users who were interviewed in the course of this study. The latter's type of adjustment placed a heavy stress upon violence. Their crimes tended to represent direct attacks against persons and property. The general disposition they manifested was one of "nerve" and brashness rather than one of "playing it cool." They did not cultivate the amenities of language, music, or dress to nearly the same extent as the cat. Their social orientation was expressed as a direct rather than an indirect attack on the dominant values of our society. This indicates that the

"youth culture" despite its generic features may vary significantly in different social settings.

In his paper, "Some Jewish Types of Personality," Louis Wirth made the following suggestive comments about the relationship between the social type and its setting.

A detailed analysis of the crucial personality types in any given area or cultural group shows that they depend upon a set of habits and attitudes in the group for their existence and are the direct expressions of the values of the group. As the life of the group changes there appears a host of new social types, mainly outgrowths and transformations of previous patterns which have become fixed through experience. (11)

What are some of the sources of the various elements going to make up the social type of the cat which may be sought in his traditions? The following suggestions are offered as little more than speculation at the present time. The emphasis upon non-violence on the part of the cat, upon manipulative techniques rather than overt attack, is a stress upon the indirect rather than the direct way towards one's goal. May not the cat in this emphasis be betraying his debt to the "Uncle Tom" type of adjustment, despite his wish to dissociate himself from earlier patterns of accommodation to the dominant white society? May not the "kick" itself be a cultural lineal descendant of the ecstatic moment of religious possession so dear to revivalist and store-front religion? Similarly, may not the emphasis upon the exploitation of the woman have its origin in the traditionally greater economic stability of the colored woman?

W. I. Thomas in one of his references to the problems raised by the city environment stated, "Evidently the chief problem is the young American person." (10, p.46) In discussing the type of inquiry that would be

desirable in this area he states that it should

... lead to a more critical discrimination between that type of disorganization in the youth which is a real but frustrated tendency to organize on a higher plane, or one more correspondent with the moving environment, and that type of disorganization which is simply the abandonment of standards. It is also along this line . . . that we shall gain light on the relation of fantastic phantasying to realistic phantasying. . . . (10, p.47)

Posed in this way the problem becomes one of evaluating the social type of the cat in relation to the processes of social change. This social type is difficult to judge according to the criterion suggested by Thomas. Since many of the cat's interests are merely an extreme form of the adolescent "youth culture," in part the problem becomes one of determining how functional the period of adolescence is as preparation for subsequent adult status. However, the central phases of the social orientation of the cat, the "hustle" and the "kick," do represent a kind of disorganization which indicates the abandonment of conventional standards. The young addicted cat is "going nowhere." With advancing age he cannot shed his addiction the way he can many of the other trappings of adolescence. He faces only the bleak prospect, as time goes on, of increasing demoralization. Although the plight of the young colored addict is intimately tied to the conditions and fate of his racial group, his social orientation seems to represent a dead-end type of adjustment. Just as Handlin in *The Uprooted* suggests that the first generation of immigrant peoples to our society tends to be a sacrificed generation (6), it may be that the unique problems of Negro migrants to our metropolitan areas will lead to a few or several sacrificed generations in the course of the tortuous process of urbanization.

The discussion of the social type of the cat leads inevitably to the issue of social control. Any attempt to intervene or modify the social processes producing the "cat" as a social type must have the objective of reducing his group isolation. For instance, because of such isolation and because of the cat's sensitivity to the gestures of his peers, the most significant role models of a given generation of cats tend to be the cats of the preceding age group. Where, in a period of rapid change, the schemes of behavior of the role models no longer correspond to the possibilities in the actual situation, it is possible for attitudes to be transmitted to a younger generation which evidence a kind of "cultural lag." Thus the condition of the labor market in Chicago is such as to suggest the existence of plentiful employment opportunities for the Negro in a variety of fields. But because such openings are not mediated to him through role models it is possible that the cat is unable to take advantage of these opportunities or of the facilities available for training for such positions.

The social type of the cat is a product of social change. The type of social orientation which it has elaborated indicates an all too acute awareness of the values of the broader social order. In an open class society where upward mobility is positively sanctioned, an awareness and sensitivity to the dominant values is the first stage in their eventual assimilation. Insofar as the social type of the cat represents a reaction to a feeling of exclusion from access to the means towards the goals of our society, all measures such as improved educational opportunities which put these means within his grasp will hasten the extinction of this social type. Just as the "hoodlum" and

"gangster" types tend to disappear as the various more recently arrived white ethnic groups tend to move up in the status scale of the community (1), so it can confidently be expected that the cat as a social type will tend to disappear as such opportunities become more prevalent among the colored population.

REFERENCES

1. Bell, Daniel, "Crime as an American Way of Life," *Antioch Review*, 13 (June, 1953), 131-154.
2. Blumer, Herbert, "Social Movements," in Robert E. Park, ed., *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1939), pp. 255-278.
3. Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton, "Lower Class: Sex and Family," *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945), pp. 564-599.
4. Finestone, Harold, "Narcotics and Criminality," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 22 (Winter, 1957), 60-85.
5. Frazier, E. Franklin, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957).
6. Handlin, Oscar, *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951), p. 243.
7. Huizinga, Johan, *Homo Ludens, A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).
8. Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 760.
9. Parsons, Talcott, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure," *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949), pp. 220-221.
10. Thomas, William I., "The Problem of Personality in the Urban Environment," in Ernest W. Burgess, ed., *The Urban Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), pp. 38-47.
11. Wirth, Louis, "Some Jewish Types of Personality," in Ernest W. Burgess, ed., *The Urban Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), p. 112.

UNION POLITICAL ACTION AND OPINION POLLS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD

*Department of Sociology and Anthropology and Institute of Labor and
Industrial Relations, Wayne State University*

AND

NICHOLAS MASTERS

Department of Political Science, Wayne State University

The use of public opinion polls as a basis for the formulation of public policy has again come to the fore amidst the current controversy concerning the role of labor unions in the political life of American society. The principal purpose of this paper is to document the authors' belief that such a use of polls requires a high degree of skillful and cautious interpretation, and that any legislative decisions based primarily on the philosophy underlying the usual type of polling technique may contain many potential pitfalls. Our belief is not a new one, and has been stated by other students of the problem. However, the limitations of the polling approach to public policy have not been explored before in the case of union members' attitudes toward political activity by their unions and the use of their dues for such activity.

In the three months following the 1956 Presidential election, a sample of 156 Detroit United Automobile Workers (UAW) members (selected through an area probability approach) was interviewed on a series of items including a number dealing specifically with the much-discussed issue of unions in politics. This study was prompted by (a) a general interest in the social psychology of labor voting, (b) a specific interest in continuing the type of inquiry begun in 1952 (3), but even more particularly by (c) the prominence given since 1952 to the provocative question of rank-

and-file approval of union political activity and of the use of members' dues and union funds for political purposes.

The use of the polling technique for discovering the extent of such approval has grown since 1952, and indeed, the findings have been often used to support or oppose the extension of union activity into the political sphere. One way to examine the general issue of the role of public opinion polls in such a context would be to describe and analyze the opinions of members of a politically active union. The UAW serves as a case in point. Perhaps no other union in the United States has had a more phenomenal and dramatic rise to political prominence than the UAW. Departing from labor's tradition of political neutrality, this union openly supports and endorses, with a few rare exceptions, candidates of the Democratic Party in Michigan. It is regarded in Michigan politics as the peak interest group within the Democratic Party in that state.

Among the problems involved in the use of polls in the formulation of any public policy, two in particular are the subject of this paper, especially in relation to the current controversy over the extension of union political activities.

(a) *Saliency, or importance, of an issue under public discussion.* Just how important is the issue, to what

extent is it actively on the minds of people? And somewhat related, has an opinion on the issue been reached after little or extensive reflection and discussion of the pros and cons, the implications, etc?

(b) *The relative weights to be given, in decision-making, to the opinions of various strata in the population.* What are the other characteristics of this or that group favoring or opposing a given measure? For example, should the "opinions" of the uninformed and disinterested citizens be consulted and considered to the same extent as those of the informed and interested citizens? And somewhat related, should all kinds of legislation (including health, war, civil rights, and similar issues) be based essentially on answers to public opinion polls?

SALIENCY

The measurement of beliefs and attitudes clearly should not rely exclusively on the closed-end, forced-type of question, especially if the purpose of such measurement is to assess the importance of a public issue, such as union political behavior, in the minds of the electorate. "Importance or centrality of attitudes," write Kretch and Crutchfield, "may be revealed in several different ways. For one thing, the intensity with which the person feels about the object or issue is highly related to its importance to the person. For another thing, the saliency of the object or issue to the person, i.e., the extent to which it occupies his attention, is likely to be related to its importance to him." (4)

We wish to present here the varied findings on the answers to three differently worded questions dealing with union political action and with the use of union dues or funds for political purposes, each varying, in

our opinion, in the degree to which it effectively measures the saliency of the basic issue.

After responding to six or seven questions* deliberately invoking a specific reference to unions, the UAW members were then asked to name any groups which they felt should not be allowed to give money to parties and candidates. Despite this series of reminders, only nine per cent of the total sample felt strongly enough about the issue, apparently, to name labor unions as organizations which should not be allowed to give money to parties and candidates. An almost equal percentage, eight per cent, mentioned business groups. And another nine per cent stated that "no groups at all" should be allowed to contribute financially to parties and candidates.

Another set of questions also tapped saliency to some extent, in the sense that although the respondents were presented with a list of organizations, when asked which group's political recommendations they particularly trusted (and would be more likely to vote or candidates recommended by such groups), they were not asked to indicate if they trusted (or did not trust) the recommendations of *each* group. Instead they were asked only to look at the list of groups and then choose those whose recommendations they trusted (or did not trust, in a subsequent question). As Table 1 reveals, nearly one-half of our UAW sample *voluntarily* selected labor groups as belonging to that category of organizations for whose recommended candidates they would be more likely to vote. Contrari-wise, when asked to name those groups on the list which they did *not* trust, 10 per cent named labor

*The number of antecedent questions varies from six to seven because in half of the interview schedules the order of this particular open-end question alternated with that of another question.

TABLE 1

GROUPS SELECTED AS PARTICULARLY
Trusted RE: VOTING RECOMMEN-
DATIONS

Labor Groups	49%
Newspapers	16
Business Group	5
(N = 156)	

groups, in marked contrast to 43 per cent citing business groups, and 38 per cent mentioning newspapers (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

GROUPS SELECTED AS PARTICULARLY
Not Trusted RE: VOTING
RECOMMENDATIONS

Business Groups	43%
Newspapers	38
Labor Groups	10
(N = 156)	

How do these findings compare with those elicited by a simple forced-choice type of question, which asked merely for agreement or disagreement (without any attempt to tap for saliency or the meaning attached to it by the respondent) with the following statement?

"Unions should be allowed to use part of the members' dues to tell their members about campaign issues and such things like the voting records of candidates."

Only a bare majority, 52 per cent, agreed with this statement. In other words, 48 per cent of the UAW members, it might be argued, did *not* agree that unions should be allowed to use part of members' dues for such purposes. But this percentage, 48 per cent, which represents the *forced-choice* answers of the sample, should be contrasted with the 9 per cent who volunteered (near the end of the interview, after at least six other questions specifically mentioning unions) to mention unions in an *open-end*

question asking which groups should not be allowed to give money to parties and candidates, and with the 10 per cent who, when shown a list of organizations, cited unions as a group whose voting recommendations they do not trust.

Which of these percentages—the 48, 9, or 10 per cent—should be taken as a reliable guide to the saliency of feelings that auto workers have concerning the role of unions in politics? Which question could best tell us how many workers, for example, would actually sign a waiver requesting that none of their dues be allocated to the Political Action Department of their union? Or, how many of them feel so strongly negative about the issue that they would write letters of protest to their representatives in Washington? How would they actually react when faced with a concrete proposal to prohibit or restrict the freedom of unions (their own in particular) to participate in politics?

Finally, does the answer to the question concerning the use of their dues for political education necessarily tell us anything about the more basic issue, namely, their approval or disapproval of political action by their union? We have some indication of the lack of intrinsic connection between the two issues of union political action and the use of dues in the fact that 45 per cent of the UAW members in our sample *disapproving* of the use of union dues for political education nevertheless think it is all right for unions to be active in politics! Stated differently, 21 per cent of the entire sample approve of political action *but* disapprove of the use of their dues for such purposes. Is it possible that they have not given much thought to the *means* required for political activities—staff, printing expenses, radio and

television time, and other resources, all of which must be paid for? On the other hand, is it possible that they would prefer to forbid union political action if they did realize such a policy required the expenditure of part of their dues?

In any event, it seems plausible to conclude that the opinions of this particular 21 per cent have not been reached on the basis of much serious deliberation and extensive discussion. The moot point is, at what juncture in the process of national debate, interpersonal discussion, and individual reflection should decision-makers rely on the polling technique as a serious basis for making far-reaching decisions?

SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGY AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

In his stimulating discussion of "Democratic Theory and Public Opinion," Berelson states some requirements "in democratic theory which refer primarily to characteristics demanded of the electorate as it initially comes to make a political discussion."

(1) These include the following:

- (a) A personality structure compatible with the demands and values of a democratic society, especially non-authoritarian tendencies and a feeling of political potency.
- (b) Social and political interest and participation; information and knowledge; communication and discussion.
- (c) "Acceptance of the political sphere as one of the legitimate elements of social life."

If these considerations of the kind of prerequisites for a democratic society are plausible, it seems reasonable to inquire into the make-up of two contrasting types in our sample, (a) those union members who disapprove of unions being active in politics and also disapprove of the use of union dues for political education (26 per cent of the total sample), and (b)

those union members who approve of both activities (42 per cent of the total sample).

What distinguishes the first type of UAW member, the one who would deny unions both the right to engage in political action and the use of part of dues income for political education, from the second type — especially with regard to the requirements for a democratic society?

Authoritarianism. Using the well-known five-item F-Scale of the California studies, we have defined as authoritarian those respondents who agreed with at least four of the five statements in that scale; as non-authoritarian, those who agreed with none or only one of the five statements. The UAW members disapproving of political action and of the use of dues had a lower percentage of non-authoritarians than did the members approving both measures.* Also, they had a slightly higher percentage of authoritarians (see Table 3). As a matter of fact, the unionists against both measures had the lowest percentage of non-authoritarians in the entire sample of auto workers.

	Attitude toward Union Political Action and Use of Dues	
	For	Against
Authoritarian	37%	42%
Non-Authoritarian	17	5
N's	(63)	(38)

If we compare only white members in each type, the contrast is even greater, with only 4 per cent of the "against" but 23 per cent of the "for" type being non-authoritarian; authoritarianism among the whites in each type was 41 per cent in the "against" type, in contrast with only 13 per cent in the "for" type.

Feeling of political effectiveness. One item in the University of Michi-

*The probability that this difference was due to chance is .08.

gan Survey Research Center's scale of political effectiveness was adapted for use in this study as a rough index of such a dimension:

"People like yourself don't have any say about what the government does."

The group of UAW members objecting to union political action and the use of dues for political education have a slightly higher percentage than do those approving of both measures, 35 per cent compared with 25 per cent. The difference is significant, however, between the whites in each type, 41 per cent against 23 per cent. Furthermore, the type opposed to both measures has a higher proportion of members with both high authoritarianism and "political futility."

Political interest. As Berelson says, "... the electorate is required to possess a certain degree of involvement in the process of political decision, to take an appropriate share of responsibility . . . Political disinterest or apathy is not permitted, or at least not approved . . . The more interested people are more likely to affect others and thus to exercise a greater influence upon the outcome of elections."

The union members against union political action and the use of dues tend to have a slightly lesser degree of political interest as measured by radio, TV, and newspaper campaign material, election campaign participation, and ability to name candidates, than the members in favor of both measures. For instance, 35 per cent of the opposed members did not listen at all, or listened less than once a week, to radio and TV campaign programs, in contrast with 24 per cent of the favorably inclined union members. Putting it more strongly, of all the respondents in the total sample who listened nearly every

night, three-fifths were in the pro-PAC-and-dues group (which constitutes slightly more than two-fifths of the sample), while less than one-fourth were in the anti-PAC-and-dues group (which constitutes slightly more than one-fourth of the sample).

When asked whether they did anything to help get their candidate elected, only 5 per cent of the anti-group (two out of forty) said they did, while 23 per cent of the pro-group said they did such things as giving money, handing out or displaying literature, talking to people, official political assignments, etc. The probability that this difference is due to chance is less than .02.

Since political interest has generally been found to vary with degree of education, it is not surprising that the type of UAW member with the greatest political interest, namely, the group approving of both political action and the use of dues, is also better educated (as measured by years of schooling) than its opposite type. While 68 per cent of the former have had at least one year of high school training, only 55 per cent of the latter have had the same amount. The probability of chance influencing this difference is .19, but again when we consider only whites in each type, the difference becomes significant (Negroes are over-represented in the pro-type).

These measures of political interest and participation reveal, or at least suggest, that the group of UAW members opposed to union political action and the use of dues for political education is less qualified to meet the requirements called for in a democratic electorate, as defined here, than is the group favoring such measures.

Legitimacy of politics. A voter's evaluative images of the political sphere, his definition of the total

political situation, can substantially influence how he will react to questions involving that sphere of human behavior. It is our opinion that this aspect has not received enough attention from social scientists. Berelson subsumes under his *interest and participation* requirement for democratic society the "acceptance of the political sphere as one of the legitimate elements of social life," but we consider this important enough to treat it separately. As he points out, "In a democratic society the political sphere must not be widely viewed as unclean or degraded or corrupt."

How do our two types compare with respect to the requirement of tolerating or accepting "politics" as a normal, desirable phenomenon in our society? In an effort to approach this fundamental question, we have constructed an Index of Legitimacy of Politics, based on our respondents' replies to five sets of questions:

(a) A clearly negative image of politics elicited from the question, "When someone says such and such a group is active in politics, what does that mean to you?" Examples would be, "It's a damned racket," "People shouldn't interfere in telling you how to vote," "They're a bunch of crooks."

(b) A "not all right" response to both of the following: "Do you think it was all right for the unions to work to get Stevenson elected, or that it was not all right?" "Do you think it was all right for businessmen and business groups to work to get Eisenhower elected, or that it was not all right?"

(c) The selection of both business groups and labor groups whose voting recommendations would be particularly not trusted, or an indication that the respondent trusts no group's recommendations.

(d) A "less to say" response to both of the following: "Would you like to see labor unions have more to say, or less to say, about things the government does?" "Would you like to see businessmen and business groups have more to say, or less to say, about things the government does?"

(e) A response of "No groups at all should be allowed" to the question, "Are there any particular groups or organizations that you think should not be allowed to give money to parties and candidates?"

Table 4 presents the percentages of each of the two types giving the number of such replies to the five items comprising the Index of Legitimacy of Politics. The differences between the two types are the sharpest of all those presented in this paper (the *P* is well beyond .0001), and they suggest that this particular dimension of political sociology deserves greater consideration in future studies, even if the particular items used to measure it vary from the ones used in this study.

TABLE 4.
INDEX OF LEGITIMACY
OF POLITICS

Index Value	No. of Items Indicative of Rejection of Politics	Attitude toward Political Action and Use of Dues	
		For	Against
Low	4 or 5	..	10%
	3	2%	5
	2	3	17
	1	16	38
High	0	79	30
		100%	100%
	N's	(66)	(40)

The fact that 79 per cent of the pro-type, but only 30 per cent of the anti-type, register a high Index of Legitimacy of Politics* has a major bearing on the principal argument of this paper, namely, the need to proceed with great care in the present debate to restrict the political activi-

*Although the question was not used in constructing the Index, 45 per cent of the "Against" type, but only 17 per cent of the "For" type, said that they did not think organizations should be allowed to give money to parties and candidates. This was a question of the Yes-No variety, unlike Item (e) above.

ties of any one pressure group in particular. It should be kept in mind that at least three of the five items used in the Index include business groups as well as labor unions.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we have attempted to discuss some crucial aspects of the use of public opinion polls in the determination of public policy toward the growing political activity of labor unions, the interpretation to be placed on the kind and number of questions used in a poll (the problem of saliency); and the relative evaluation of the opinions of various strata in the population (the social-psychology and political democracy aspect).

We found that a closed-end question, the weakest type of question for the purposes of ascertaining saliency, revealed a large minority — nearly one-half—opposing the use of union dues for political education, but that an open-end question revealed that an insignificant percentage — nine per cent — cited unions as organizations that should not be allowed to give money to parties and candidates. Any serious public proposal for restricting the political activities of unions based on the single, closed-end type of question must first meet the problem of saliency, and also that of knowing to what extent opinions might change and/or intensify after extensive discussion and thought. As John Ranney has put it, "There is something not only pathetic but also indicative of a basic weakness in the polls' conception of democracy in the stories of those who tell interviewers they could give a 'better answer' to the questions if they only had time to read up a bit or think things over. It is precisely this reading up and thinking over which are the essence of political participation." (5)

We found also that the type of

union member opposing both political action and the use of dues for political purposes by unions meets less adequately the basic requirements for participation in the democratic political process. Differences in degree of political apathy, education, and a sense of political responsibility have corresponding effects on our political life. These differences mean that each person's opinion cannot be given the same weight, if we wish democracy to depend on more than the counting of heads.

The findings in this paper underscore the need for caution in interpreting the results of the usual type of opinion poll, and the need for a more sophisticated analysis of such results. Herbert Hyman has put this even more strongly: "... to the degree that the sheer surveying of public opinion and the *usual analysis of data* violate an ideal conception of democratic functioning, it might be regarded as not merely irrelevant, but pernicious." (2)

These general conclusions, however, should not be taken to belittle completely the importance of public opinion research in the formulation of public policy. In addition to the free play of ideas and pressure group activity, there remains the need to elicit systematically the opinions of the general electorate. Our position here is that decision-makers (for example, legislators) should exercise responsibility in their use and evaluation of the polling technique, that they should be sensitive to the problem of varying degrees of acceptable research and interpretation. Finally, it is not trite to require that social scientists called upon to do such research also share in this responsibility.

REFERENCES

1. Berelson, Bernard, in *Political Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research*, ed. by H. Eulau, S. Eldersveld,

and M. Janowitz (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 107-116.

2. Hyman, Herbert, *Survey Design and Analysis* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), p. 336.

3. Kornhauser, Arthur, Harold L. Sheppard, and Albert J. Mayer, *When Labor Votes: A Study of Auto Workers*

(New York: University Books, 1956).

4. Kretch, D. and Crutchfield, R. S., *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948), pp. 251-252.

5. Ranney, John G., "Do the Polls Serve Democracy?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Fall, 1946.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CAUSES OF ANTISEMITISM*

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Department of Sociology, Hunter College

I

The aim of this paper, in discussing the socio-economic causes of anti-semitism, is to arrive at a sociological theory of antisemitism. We exclude, therefore, causes that refer to the frailty of individual human nature and that are more properly dealt with in psychology and personality theory. Representatives of the psychological approach have themselves admitted that the emotional factors in anti-semitism remain merely latent as long as the socio-economic environment is not conducive to bringing them to the fore, (8) Recent personality research has gone a step further and come up with the statement that concern with status is more closely related to antisemitism than is, for instance, authoritarianism, and that the relationship between authoritarianism and antisemitism may be largely explained by their mutual relationship to concern with status. (10) All the structural theorist has to add to this is that the solid facts of class

and status antedate concern with them and that, consequently, clarification of the position of the Jews in a system of social stratification will go a long way in predicting the behavior of individuals within that system.

A further qualification should be added. The Jewish problem is the oldest, the most persistent and in many ways the most perplexing problem in occidental civilization, and it would, therefore, be presumptuous to study it as if it had arisen yesterday and could be expected to disappear tomorrow. Such a problem has a history and can only be studied by the historical method. No other approach will yield the variety of cases on which a generalized theoretical formulation of any problem depends. Moreover, if a patterned arrangement of social forces repeats itself generation after generation, an image is formed in the minds of men which in continued cultural transmission becomes itself a factor of structural potency. The image of the Jew in the minds of the occidental peoples has served to justify his position in the social structure and his position, in turn, has served to illuminate the image. In such a way, socio-economic causations are

*This paper was delivered before the 27th annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, April 14, 1957. The research on which it is based has been made possible by a grant from the Cultural Division of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany.

interwoven with religious, moral, juridical and other causations and the interaction of these causations amounts to more than a summation of facts: history becomes the seed-bed of that collective consciousness which gives to facts their meaning and direction. Consequently, since socio-economic and social-psychological factors condition each other within the social structure, a purely "materialistic" interpretation of social processes becomes impossible to sustain. In this respect, we differ from the otherwise brilliant analysis of A. Leon. (12) We may isolate socio-economic factors for the purpose of analysis, but we must never separate them from the total social reality of which they are a part.

II

In order to place Jewish-Gentile relations and their propensity to produce conflict situations in proper perspective, one must take one's departure from the observation that the Jews have never been in the low class position of downtrodden peasants, menial laborers, dependent serfs and slaves; they were never oppressed and exploited by an upper class of employers, especially large landholders, in the way subjected low class populations usually are. Surely, there existed at all times numbers of miserably poor Jews, ragpickers, repairmen, peddlers, beggars and tramps, but they were considered a burden on Jewish charity, not on society at large; many of them rarely left the Jewish quarters. The poor Jew always was of profound disconcert to the Gentiles. Not even the Jewish agricultural settlements that were scattered throughout the Mediterranean world in late antiquity and in the early middle ages had their image engraved on historical memory; not a trace of them is left. Considering the influence which the Church of Rome

exerted at the time, it stands to reason that the Jewish sharecroppers of that period, in the long run, must have disappeared either as tenants or as Jews. These Jews either made their peace with the Church and stayed on the land or they gave up agriculture and migrated to the city. (3) Only in independent economic positions could they maintain their non-conformist cultural heritage. Such independence was possible for the Jewish artisan class, which was numerous at times, but the leadership in the Jewish communities necessarily fell to those who were able to sustain the communal institutions, namely, the merchants. Besides, in the relations of the Jews with the outside world, it was not so much "prayer, repentance, and charity" which prevented evil decrees, but the lure of hard coin: that was the language which convinced the rulers. In other words: the Jews had their poor and their artisans, but their representatives were men of means. In the eyes of the world, the Jews were conceptualized as merchants and traders, with a host of sub-contractors, agents, interpreters, translators, even medical practitioners, surrounding them. What all these occupational categories have in common is that they refer not so much to substance but to relations. Those engaged in them do not aim at the transformation of matter but at the management of minds. They are members of an intermediary class. This can be said about the ninth as well as about the nineteenth century.

A number of important consequences flow from this initial observation. In intergroup relations, conflict arises on the periphery where contacts are made; widely dispersed trading communities are exposed to many more contact situations than large, compact settlements of agriculturists; and peripheral tension in-

creases, therefore, wherever such minorities of traders and specialized artisans are found. This structural marginality, which has been formulated by Perez Bernstein and Adolf Leschnitzer, antedates the psychological marginality introduced into sociological discussion by Robert E. Park and Everett Stonequist. (2, 22) The Jews are a marginal people; their marginal individuals, namely the men of means and all others who are continually in contact with outsiders, are doubly exposed. (14) In some cases, marginality is carried to the point where the conflict is being fought among the exposed individuals themselves and even, tantalizingly, within the minds of individuals. The periphery is thereby extended into the core and the tension immeasurably multiplied. In the extreme case, when the center collapses completely and the periphery, as it were, is the only reality that is left, the antisemitic tension must be expected to be at a fever pitch. The verification is provided by the example of Spain after the terrifying pogroms of 1391 and especially after the final expulsion of 1492, when the remaining *conversos*, their religious disabilities removed, surged high in society but experienced all the more the murderous hostility of the populace and of the Inquisition. (4, 19) Surely, when the opponent is no more clearly discernible, his assumed ubiquitous presence would seem most threatening. We have a situation approximating, but not quite equalling, the one of the Spain of the Inquisition, in nineteenth and twentieth century Vienna, with its large numbers of illustrious converts and near-converts and its virulent racism.

Another elaboration, in historical analysis, of our stated observation leads to the recognition of the identity of the merchant and the stranger. The wholesale merchant especially,

who offers his wares and services in far-away places and receives other wares and services in return is a man whom one needs badly and awaits anxiously, with whom, however, because he doesn't belong to one's clan, one never feels entirely at ease. One must be on guard with him: what the neighbor, as a kinsman, would have to offer free of charge, if he only had it, can indeed be had from the merchant; but he does not offer it free of charge, he sells; and since he sells, he stands under the assumption that he takes his advantage. The Jew, the merchant, the stranger, the wanderer, the magician from the East, the man who is everywhere and belongs nowhere—this picture begins, at the beginning of the middle ages, to take shape and form. It has grown to mythical proportions since. In Georg Simmel's words, it is the picture not so much of the man who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather of the man who comes today and stays tomorrow. (28) We prefer to call the latter not the "stranger" but the "intermediary." By "intermediary," we mean the outsider who settles among the in-group, yet remains sufficiently remote from it to be looked upon with mistrust, on the one hand, and to be appreciated for his impartiality, on the other. Next to the Jew as the agent and the trader, stands the Jew as the healer, the counsellor, the judge.

Periods of appreciation and periods of mistrust succeeded each other. The Jew was welcome whenever he was a trailblazer of urbanism in rural surroundings. This was true in late antiquity and in the early middle ages, when he brought the wares of the East to the undeveloped West. It was true in Christian Spain, when he brought the wisdom of the Greeks in Arabic garb. Later, it was true in the old kingdom of Poland, when German Jews along with German

Gentiles were called in the land to populate the cities. It would be fascinating to trace elements of that appreciation in America, whether the reference is to the mail order catalogue or to Albert Einstein. But these periods of appreciation did not dispel the mistrust that was always latent and in times of crisis insuperable. How do we account for this recurrence? To say that competitive jealousies are easily stirred up seems not enough. In introducing at this point what may be called the historical "image" of the Jew, it must be kept in mind that in a pre-industrial society class conflicts are centered around the conflicts between creditors and debtors and that such conflicts become intensified whenever the socio-economic antagonism coincides with an ethno-religious differentiation. (26) For instance, the Armenians, a Christian creditor people, were left essentially unmolested among Christian peasant populations in Russia and in the Balkans while, at a moment of political crisis, they were massacred among Moslems. The Jews of the middle ages were everywhere creditors *and* everywhere an ethno-religious minority. In the course of time, the two antagonisms reenforced each other until they became indistinguishable. Although there was never such a thing as a monopoly on interest-taking on the part of the Jews, the terms "Jew" and "usurer" came to be used interchangeably by the thirteenth century. (1)

The reason for this development is that the Jews were considered more than "different"; they were considered the enemies of Christ. There is an element of "self-fulfilling prophecy" in this most involved story. The destruction by the Roman emperor of the Temple in Jerusalem was seen as a punishment for the rejection of Christ and the curse that was laid

upon the Jewish people by this double event was subsequently used as a rationale for discriminatory treatment. The depressed status that was brought about was then taken as further proof of the curse. The usury legislation of the medieval Church must be understood in that light. In an attempt to reconcile the Church's strict interdict on interest taking as a cardinal sin with the undeniable need for commercial credit and for distress loans, the Church conceded that the Jews might as well adhere to the evil practice; they lived anyway *in statu reprobationis*. To put it bluntly, it was assumed that the Christians, in taking interest, were acting against their better nature, but that the Jews, being sons of the devil, were acting in conformity with theirs. This must not be taken as a mere symbolism. To the high middle ages, Satan personally was a Jew, a monstrous creature with a hooked nose and a goatee who prayed in the Synagogue and plotted in the market place. (24) In the meantime, other devils have appeared on the screen of the human mind, but we know that they could be made to seem all the more threatening when they resembled the arch-image of the Jew.

The Jews were, and still are, the people of the twilight, the strangers, the intermediaries. Perhaps, one can say that appreciation and mistrust are mingled in the belief that everything can be expected from them. But to define the typical position of the Jew in a system of social stratification, a further qualification is necessary. Never in their post-biblical history were the Jews as a group relegated to the status of slaves of masters in private law, but they were considered the servants of kings and emperors in public law. This was the meaning of the expression *servi camerae imperatoris speciales* which appeared first in the decree of Emperor Freder-

ic II in 1236. (11) In other words, the Jews were considered subjects of the imperial treasury.* Special legislation attempted to protect them against footloose mobs, discontented debtors and sheer superstition, but as time went on, protection degenerated into exploitation — as it frequently does. Sociologically speaking, no more significant statement can be made about the role which the Jews played in occidental history from this point on, if not earlier, than to say that they were the allies and the tools of the crown and the nobles and, as such, one of the constituent elements in the development of the modern state. The admonition of the Jewish sages: "Don't put your trust in princes" notwithstanding, the choice was inescapable. The Jews would only be admitted to a territory or locality by the ruler of that territory or locality and it was he who promised protection against considerable and frequently renewed payment. The ability of the Jews to pay depended on the permission which was granted them to lend money against interest. The ruler was the silent partner in the Jewish business. For instance, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the Jews of Nuremberg, no more than 8-10 per cent of the inhabitants, provided more than 50 per cent of the city's tax income; part of that income went to the Emperor. (21) At

times, as in Spain in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in Austria and other German states in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a bolder step was taken: the most prominent Jews were appointed councillors of the crown and served as tax gatherers and commercial monopolists. Theirs was the task to transform the natural wealth of the kingdom into the cash on the strength of which the crusades of the kings of Aragon and Castile against the Moors and the wars of Prince Eugene against the Turks were predicated. The activities of these court-Jews, so-called, mark the beginnings of a modern financial administration in large parts of central Europe. (20)

The symbiosis of the Jews and the nobles antedates and accompanies the one of the Jews and the state. In western Europe in the early middle ages, Jewish merchants brought luxury goods to palaces and manor houses; in more recent centuries, Jewish agents disposed of the surplus products of the landed estates of the Polish gentry. The Jews fulfilled the functions of a middle class where no native middle class existed. The nineteenth century German economist Wilhelm Roscher must be credited with establishing the theory that antisemitism became a potent force whenever a competing national middle class arose. (18) From the high middle ages onward, Jews were excluded from the guilds and consequently from the trades and crafts, and relegated to the distasteful credit operations connected with pawnbroking. However, in the way of undesired consequences that sometimes flow from seemingly clearly aimed actions, this established the Jewish trade in second-hand goods which catered to the needs of the lower classes and later led to the Jewish prominence in the finishing industries, especially in the manufacture of gar-

*It should be observed that the theory of the subjection of the Jews to the imperial chamber, in referring to the Passion of the Lord and the subsequent conquest of Jerusalem, merely served to clothe day-by-day injustice with the mantle of ancient law. It should further not be overlooked that the Emperor had to assert his title as a "protector" of the Jews against similar claims of the Holy See. The Jew was hit, but the political adversary was meant. This sort of substitution is so frequent that it amounts to a sociological law. We hesitate to call this "scapegoatism", though, because the idea of expiation of sin does not operate on the political chessboard.

ments. (15, 24, 27) Again, a clamor arose for special legislation, even expulsion. The Jews and the middle classes remained locked in a bitter competitive struggle.* It was in the course of this struggle that the Jews ceased to be free agents and became agents of their protectors, the territorial lords. They found themselves in the status of social outcasts; but, so far from thereby being removed from class conflict, they were put right in the path of it; and in the larger struggle of the mercantile and laboring classes against the ruling classes they served as lightning rod and whipping boy at the same time.

Without ever constituting a ruling class, or part of a ruling class, the Jews found their interests linked to those of the ruling class. This was the condition for their admission and the reason for their downfall. It is likewise the reason for the wrong perspective in which they have been placed so often. From above, they looked quite insignificant, mere figures on the political chessboard, while from below they assumed the proportions of dangerous monsters because they appeared as the representatives of an exploitative system. Of this situation, we have examples so numerous, from all ages and societies, including our own, that we must abstain from mentioning a single one. What ought to be added however, is an elaboration on the creditor-debtor relation that was indicated earlier: if the socio-economic antagonism is interlocked with an ethnic one, that is, if the ruling classes are of one people and the laboring classes of another, then one tension

reenforces the other and a revolutionary explosion, of which the wedged-in Jews are likely to be the foremost victims, becomes inevitable. The classic example is provided by the revolts of the Ukrainian Cossacks against their Polish overlords in the seventeenth century. (7) This outbreak led to the wholesale massacre of the Jewish estate agents, innkeepers, suppliers, and merchants, who had acted as the representatives of the absentee gentry. The gentry, on their part, panicked into belated agreement with the rebels, attempted to save their skin by abandoning the Jewish population. In precarious situations of this type, the exposed intermediary position of the Jews is patently evident and these situations are ever-present. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Jews of Greece were caught in the struggle between the Greeks and the Ottoman Empire; the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia found themselves in a trap between the rival aspirations of the Germans and the Czechs; the Jews of Hungary between Magyar nationalism and the stirrings of the slavic peoples; and I tremble to predict what the fate of the Jews of Algeria and those of the Union of South Africa will eventually be.

III

In conclusion: the survey of the history of Jewish-Gentile relations, in which we have been engaged, reveals a structural relationship, the pattern of which appears firmly established long before the period in which we now live, namely the one of the industrial society, is reached. The role of the Jews among the peoples of Europe and the Near East has been defined and redefined in ages past; we cannot escape it. If we study Jewish-Gentile relations in the modern world in as many places as pleases us and by whatever means, be it occupational statistics, person-

*This struggle lasted throughout the nineteenth and extended into the twentieth century, especially in such countries as Austria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, where capitalistic behavior patterns were late in spreading. A good analysis by a social scientist is contained in a work by Heinrich Waentig (25).

ality tests, qualitative or quantitative analysis, we may expect to find modifications, combinations, cross-fertilizations, even one line of causation occasionally counteracted by another line of causation; but the pattern will stand. For instance the era of liberalism, in establishing freedom of conscience, freedom of press and assembly and freedom of trade, changed the position of the Church and revolutionized the life of the middle classes as well as of the laboring classes everywhere, but it merely unleashed the energies of the Jews and gave them a free rein. (17) The Jews had been conditioned to competitive risk-taking for a long time. Now, the rules which had governed their conduct under specific circumstances, found wide application. A French antisemitic writer of the time put it succinctly, when he said that the Jews should be considered "the kings of the epoch."

(23) Yet, one of the outstanding events of the liberal era, as far as the Jews are concerned, the spectacular rise of the house of Rothschild, has added no new facet or aspect either to the social status or to the image of the Jew, except the hysterically enhanced fear that now, with legal barriers removed, the Jews might be swept into a position where they could utilize their association with rulers and nobles to attain world domination; (5) this fear has carried us to Auschwitz and Treblinka. But they were not swept into a position of power, otherwise Auschwitz and Treblinka, and the entire horrid genocide for which these names stand, could not have occurred. It is fascinating to observe how in country after country, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. included, the social body resisted the inclusion of the Jews in the commanding positions in industry, in the armed forces and in institutionalized intellectual life. The liberal era was concerned with "rights"

and has done much about them; but in terms of social structure nothing that is essential has been changed.

Is America different? Does Israel mark a break? We may have a particular look at these two societies, with the models in mind which structural theory offers. As far as America is concerned, the balance sheet would open hopefully: the medieval attitude towards money plays no role, as Uncle Sam himself is a keen trader; wealth, in the Puritan tradition, is considered a blessing and even a gambler's fortune is now surrounded by a halo; the ethnic and religious diversity of America has guaranteed freedom of worship; the Negro problem holds first mortgage on the conscience of the nation; and a dynamic economy stifles ordinary jealousies. But in the decisive area, namely in social stratification, the familiar picture emerges. (13) The Jews of America, typically, are agents, consultants, interpreters, finishers, middlemen; they are prominent in those kinds of enterprise that are near to the consumer, such as the garment, tobacco and liquor industries, movie-making, real estate, retailing and a host of auxiliary services, but they are excluded, or almost excluded, from power positions in the heavy industries, such as steel and oil, in banking, insurance and in corporation law.* There are a thousand and one devices, subtle and not so subtle, for keeping Jews out of key positions in a variety of fields. Jews, all over the country, are found participating in the activities of community chests, but not in the membership of country

*The publication *Jews in America* (by the Editors of Fortune, New York, 1936), which contains some of the data for the 1920's and 1930's, must be read with a great deal of caution. The facts presented are not incorrect, but the interpretation reveals the subconscious antisemitism of the authors.

clubs. (6) It is rare indeed for the name of a wealthy and renowned Jewish family to appear in the Social Register and almost unheard of for the daughter of such a family to come out at a debutante ball.** In brief, while human relations, under the circumstances, may run the full gamut from repressed hostility to open friendliness, one must be afraid that in terms of structural analysis America is not turning a new leaf in the book of Jewish-Gentile relations.

How about Israel? Will the spectacular reconstruction of the Jewish State remove the socio-economic causes of antisemitism, as we have known them? Will it do away with the image of the Jew as it has been fixed in the memory of western man? Such founders of modern Zionism as Leon Pinsker and Theodor Herzl were impressed by the argument that antisemitism was thriving on the disconcerting concept of the Jewish people as a ghost people; an everlasting, everpresent minority. (9, 16) We Jews suffer, said Herzl, from an overproduction of middle-strata intellectuals who offer sharp competition to the Gentile middle classes; tension, he thought, would be relieved, if some of the competitors were removed. Herzl revealed considerable insight, when he emphasized that only in a Jewish state could Jews expect to recapture a hold on agricultural and

industrial production, blot out the image of the Jew as a spectre and a parasite and take their place as equals among equals in the society of nations. (9) Indeed, the Jewish middle ages were entombed only in 1948, when, for the first time since the days of the Maccabees, the symbol of the wandering Jew was replaced in the sight of the peoples of the world by the symbol of the Jewish worker and soldier. This was not the least revolutionary event among the many revolutionary events of our time. If one considers the host of disparaging remarks, prior to the establishment of the Jewish State, about the presumed inability of the "old clothes Jew" to work productively and to act heroically, the magnitude of the change appears impressive. Nevertheless, the question marks which accompanied the Zionist movement from its inception remain: Will the concentrated enmity of the Arab rulers, which is nourished on a fear complex, be preferable to the jealousy of commercial competitors in many lands? Will sovereignty over a small territory offer effective protection? Will the power inherent in geography and economic resources, or the lack of it, not carry the same weight internationally as within a society? In short, will the position of the State of Israel not be strikingly similar to the position which the Jews have always held? These considerations must arrest our thoughts before we arrive at a final judgment.

**According to the *New York Times* (Feb. 4, 1957), the top carnival balls in New Orleans cannot be attended by Jews. As a result, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, Sr., who previously had made a record \$300,000. gift to the New Orleans Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, were out of town for the entire carnival period. Mrs. Stern is a daughter of the late Philanthropist Julius Rosenwald of Chicago; she surely would have loved to participate in socialite activities. Reminders such as this one are necessary because of the frequently heard assertions that Jews "exclude themselves."

REFERENCES

1. Aronius, J., *Register zur Geschichte der Juden im frankischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273* (Berlin, 1902), 319.
2. Bernstein, F., *Der Antisemitismus als Gruppenerscheinung. Versuch einer Soziologie des Judenhasses*. (Berlin, 1926), 163-165; compare Leschnitzer, Adolph, Art. "Antisemitismus," *Woerterbuch der Soziologie* (Wilhelm Bernsdorf

- und Friedrich Buelow, eds. (Stuttgart, 1955), 16-20.
3. Caro, Georg, *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*. Vol. I: *Das fruehe und das hohe Mittelalter*. (Second ed., Frankfurt a. M., 1924), 35-44.
 4. Castro, Americo, *The Structure of Spanish History* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 466-589 and literature mentioned there.
 5. Corti, Egon Caesar, Conte, *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Rothschild 1770-1830* (Leipzig, 1927) and *Das Haus Rothschild in der Zeit seiner Blute 1830-1871* (Leipzig, 1928).
 6. Dean, John P., "Patterns of Socialization and Association Between Jews and non-Jews," *Jewish Social Studies* XVII (Paper and Proceedings of the Tercentenary Conference on American Jewish Sociology, July 1955), 247-268.
 7. Dubnow, Simon M., *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times until the Present Day*, 3 vols (Philadelphia, 1916), I, 139 et passim.
 8. Frenkel-Brunswick, Else and Sanford, R. Nevitt, "The Antisemitic Personality: A Research Report," in Simmel, Ernst (ed.), *Antisemitism—A Social Disease* (New York, 1946), p. 123.
 9. Herzl, Theodor, *A Jewish State—An attempt at a modern solution of the Jewish question* (3rd ed., New York, 1917).
 10. Kaufman, Walter C., "Status, Authoritarianism, and Antisemitism," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXII (January 1957), 379-382.
 11. Kisch, Guido, *The Jews in Medieval Germany—A Study of their Legal and Social Status* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 145-153.
 12. Leon, A., *Conception Materialiste de la Question Juive* (Amsterdam, 1946; transl. Mexico City, 1950).
 13. Lestschinsky, Jacob, "The Position of the Jews in the Economic Life of America," *Jews in a Gentile World—The Problem of Antisemitism* (Isaak Graeber and Stewart H. Britt, eds., New York, 1942), pp. 402-416.
 14. Lewin, Kurt, "Self-Hatred among Jews," *Resolving Social Conflicts—Selected Papers on Group Dynamics 1935-1946* (New York, 1948), pp. 186-200.
 15. Mahler, Raphael, "Antisemitism in Poland," *Essays on Antisemitism* Pinson, Koppel S. ed. (New York, 1946), pp. 145-172.
 16. Pinsker, Leo S., *Auto-emancipation* (New York, 1944).
 17. Reichmann, Eva G., *Hostages of Civilization—The Social Sources of National Socialist Antisemitism* (Boston, 1951), 65 et passim.
 18. Roscher, Wilhelm, "Die Stellung der Juden im Mittelalter, betrachtet vom Standpunkte der allgemeinen Handelspolitik," *Zeitschrift fuer die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* XXXI (1857), pp. 503-526.
 19. Roth, Cecil, *A History of the Marranos* (Philadelphia, 1941), 11-54 et passim.
 20. Stern, Selma, *The Court Jew. A Contribution to the History of the Period of Absolutism in Central Europe* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 15-37, pp. 60-136.
 21. Stobbe, Otto, *Die Juden Deutschlands waehrend des Mittelalters in politischer, sozialer und rechtlicher Beziehung* (3rd ed. Berlin, 1923), 53 et passim. Stobbe's small volume, which first appeared in 1866, has remained an unsurpassed source for the social history of the Jews in central Europe. Among English works, compare Kisch, Guido, op. cit. and Parkes, James, *The Jew in the Medieval Community. A Study of his Political and Economic Situation* (London, 1938).
 22. Stonequist, Everett V., *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937), with Robert E. Park's introduction.
 23. Toussnel, Alphonse, *Les juifs, rois de l'epoque; histoire de la feodalite .nanciere* (Paris, 1846).
 24. Trachtenberg, Joshua, *The Devil and the Jews. The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to modern antisemitism* (New Haven, 1943).
 25. Waentig, Heinrich, *Gewerbliche Mittelstandspolitik. Eine rechtshistorisch-wirtschaftspolitische Studie auf Grund oesterreichischer Quellen*. (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 136-168.
 26. Weber, Max, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tuebingen, 1922), II, 583-584, III, 632-634.
 27. Wischnitzer, Mark, "Origin of the Jewish Artisan Class in Bohemia and Moravia 1500-1648," *Jewish Social Studies* XVI (October 1954), 335-350.
 28. Wolff, Kurt H. (ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (Glencoe, Ill., 1950), pp. 402-408.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIFFERENTIALS IN MORTALITY FROM CHRONIC DISEASES*

JOHN M. ELLIS

Department of Social Science, Lee College

Demographic research dealing with mortality differentials between socio-economic groups has been oriented to the patterns of a period when death rates were high and largely the result of the high incidence of contagious diseases which frequently reached epidemic proportions. Economic differences and the resultant marked differences in the physical conditions of life were reflected in a quite pronounced tendency for upper income groups to have a most favorable mortality experience in comparison with persons of low income. High death rates for the infectious diseases are closely related to poor conditions of the physical environment such as deteriorated and crowded housing, poor diet, and inadequate medical care. In the past, most studies of socio-economic differences dealt with this relationship. The high mortality from such diseases as tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, and typhoid fever among the lower economic groups attracted much study which doubtlessly helped stimulate measures directed toward reducing the toll of these diseases through education, free medical treatment, and improvement in sanitary conditions. The decline in the importance of the infectious diseases has been striking. In 1900 in the United States tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, diphtheria, and typhoid fever accounted for more than one-fourth of all deaths, while the major cardiovascular-renal diseases and malignant neoplasms combined caused slightly less than one-fourth of the deaths. In 1950 the percentage

of deaths caused by the infectious diseases mentioned above had fallen to less than six per cent, while the cardiovascular-renal diseases alone accounted for more than half the deaths and malignant neoplasms for an additional fourteen and one-half per cent. (12)

In spite of the obvious success of public health measures in reducing deaths from infectious diseases, such measures operate in a situation of diminishing returns. At the beginning, reductions in mortality are huge. In time, as the death rates for the infectious diseases fall to low levels and in some instances virtually disappear, greatly increased effort and expenditure are required to make only small reductions in the number of deaths. At this point, which has been reached by the United States and the other urban-industrial countries, the causes of death most responsive to public health measures such as sanitation and immunization cease to play an appreciable part in the mortality experience of the society. The death rate is low and is largely the result of deaths from the chronic diseases. Socio-economic differences in mortality, were they assumed to be entirely the result of the effect of differences in the physical environment upon deaths from infectious diseases would disappear. Slight differentials would in fact remain, however, due to a tendency for the lower economic groups to have higher death rates for certain other causes of death such as accidents and homicides. But the virtual disappearance of socio-economic differentials may be assumed, an assumption that is implied in

*This paper is based on material from the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation. (5)

studies which have shown declines in mortality differentials which are associated with economic status. (7, 8, 9.) Also, several studies of socio-economic differentials by cause of death have found no significant differentials for the chronic diseases. Allen, in studies of Cincinnati (1, 2), reported that the chronic disease rates did not differ very greatly between economic groups. Coombs had a similar finding for data from Chicago. (3, pp. 252-254) In contrast, a recently published study of Buffalo, New York, indicated an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and deaths from chronic diseases, although the relationship was less pronounced than it was for infectious diseases. (13, pp. 1240-1242)

When death rates are low, if a differential in mortality between socio-economic groups still appears, its explanation can hardly lie in the former assumptions concerning differences in the physical environment. The chronic diseases which at present account for a majority of the deaths in the United States are not related to differences in economic status in the same manner as are the infectious diseases. They are not apparently aggravated by poor sanitation, crowded and inadequate housing, and similar environmental conditions that figure so prominently in mortality from the infectious diseases. If, therefore, such diseases as malignant neoplasms, heart disease, diabetes mellitus, nephritis, and vascular lesions are inversely related to economic status, the explanation must lie in factors other than those associated with poor living conditions. Even without Yeracaris' finding (13, pp. 1240-1242), it is reasonable to assume that the chronic diseases should show higher death rates among people of low economic status. These diseases respond to treatment in many cases if they are diagnosed early and adequate treat-

ment is secured. This requires both access to information regarding the importance of early diagnosis and the financial ability to afford expensive and often prolonged treatment. It is logical to suppose the lower economic groups with neither adequate information regarding the diseases nor financial ability to provide treatment would have higher death rates from the chronic diseases.

The purpose of the research presented here is to offer evidence in support of the hypothesis that deaths from chronic diseases show an inverse relationship to socio-economic status. If a differential is found, since it can hardly result from differences in physical living conditions, its explanation must be sought in terms of other factors such as differences in subculture between the groups or in terms of the characteristics of the social organization.

SOURCES OF DATA AND RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

Mortality data were secured from the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the Health Department of the City of Houston, Texas, through the cooperation of Mr. W. H. Alban, Registrar and Statistician. Death rates were based upon the average number of deaths for the three years, 1949-1951.

These rates were calculated by use of population data from the bulletin of census tract statistics for Houston. (11) Population estimates for the tracts as of July 1, 1950 were made, so that death rates were calculated for the customary estimated mid-year population. These rates were standardized using the age-sex distribution of the white population of the United States in 1940 to construct a standard million. (10) The indirect method of calculation, which is presented in detail in Hagood's *Statistics for Sociologists* (6), was used for all death rates.

The socio-economic ranking of census tracts used was that made by Dodson in his study of differential fertility in Houston. (4) Dodson grouped the tracts by a modification of the index of social rank developed by Shevky and Williams. This index utilized measures of education, occupation, and rental value to form a composite index. For the Houston tracts in 1950, Dodson used median family income rather than rental value since this latter had originally been used as an approximation of income. Census data on income in 1950 made the use of rental data no longer necessary. (4, p. 67) The data used were for the white population of Houston, which constituted almost 80 per cent of the total population of the Central City. The whites were so widely dispersed throughout the city that Dodson excluded only four census tracts from his social rank groupings. The tracts were grouped into five socio-economic rank groups each containing either 12 or 13 tracts. (4, pp. 195-196) Group I represents the highest socio-economic rank and Group V the lowest. These groups in size of total estimated white population, July 1, 1950, ranged from 129,107 in Group II to 68,825 in Group V.

DIFFERENTIALS IN TOTAL MORTALITY

The standardized death rates for all causes are presented by sex in Table 1. These rates indicate that mortality in the lower rank groups is appreciably higher than in the

upper rank groups. Group IV is an exception in that it has a rate above that of Group V. This failure of the inverse relationship to hold for Group IV is difficult to explain. It may result from the mere fact that Groups IV and V are small relative to Groups I and II. The two lower rank groups had a combined population of 146,000, not very much higher than the 129,107 population of Group II alone. If the two lowest rank groups were combined into one group, the inverse relationship would be without exception, for the rate of Group V is little smaller than that for Group IV. Such a combination in order to satisfy preconceptions regarding the data would, however, be arbitrary and unwarranted. As is shown by the later tables, there is a real differential between groups IV and V for the causes of death most markedly associated with social rank, a fact that suggests validity for the rank group division.

Moreover, the failure of Group V to show the highest death rate could be attributed to a differential access to free medical care. Yeracaris suggested this as a possible explanation for a similar finding. (13, pp. 1241-1242) It may be that persons in the lowest economic group, having no means to provide for their medical needs, are eligible for free medical service, while persons in Group IV may have sufficient means to disqualify them for public aid and at the same time insufficient ability to secure adequate treatment.

TABLE 1.
WHITE DEATH RATES, HOUSTON, TEXAS, 1949-1951 BY SOCIAL
RANK GROUP (RATES PER 1000 POPULATION)

Sex	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Male	7.46	7.91	9.07	11.11	9.91
Female	5.39	5.29	5.59	7.11	7.49
Both sexes	6.17	6.56	7.43	9.12	8.73

The death rates by sex indicate that the high total mortality in Group IV is the result of an unusually high male mortality in the rank group, for Group IV females have a lower death rate than females in Group V. If, therefore, differential access to free medical care is a factor in the high mortality of Group IV, it is a factor in male rather than female mortality. It is also significant that the magnitude of male differentials is greater than that of females. The difference between the lowest and highest male rates is 3.65 (Groups I and IV), while the difference for females is 2.20 (Groups II and V). The data indicate a higher male mortality for those causes of death more differentially associated with socio-economic status. It should be pointed out that the male and female death rates in Table 1 are not exactly comparable. They are each standardized to the age distribution of the sex in the standard million; hence they are not standardized to the same age distribution. In calculating standardized rates by the indirect method, one may easily derive such rates by sex. Since the concern in the study is with rank group differentials, it was not thought worthwhile to standardize the female and male rates to the same age distribution. The female rates for the rank groups are comparable to each other, as are the male rates and the total rates. This is sufficient for making the comparisons desired. Actually, the age distributions of males and females in

the standard million did not vary enough to change the standardized rates by sex materially had they been reduced to a single distribution. Consequently, the male and female rates are roughly comparable, although not absolutely so. The rates in all of the tables have been treated in this manner.

MORTALITY DIFFERENTIALS FOR THE LEADING DISEASES

Standardized death rates for the seven leading diseases in Houston mortality (See Table 2.) show an inverse relationship between mortality and economic status for both the infectious and the chronic diseases. The two infectious diseases, tuberculosis and pneumonia, show a more pronounced relationship to social rank, but the relationship for such diseases as malignant neoplasms and heart disease is quite clear if not so marked. In every instance the rates for the chronic diseases in Group V are higher than in Group IV, with the single exception of nephritis. That this differential is not the result of the mortality pattern of only one of the sexes is indicated by the standardized death rates for males and females. The male death rates in Table 3 show an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and mortality for both the infectious and the chronic diseases. But the rates for tuberculosis, pneumonia, and malignant neoplasms are higher in Group

TABLE 2.

WHITE DEATH RATES BY SOCIAL RANK GROUP FOR SELECTED CAUSES OF DEATH, HOUSTON, TEXAS, 1949-1951 (RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION).

Cause	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Tuberculosis	8.54	12.70	23.65	37.14	49.07
Pneumonia	7.02	9.23	13.78	13.39	15.09
Malignant neoplasms	98.08	116.00	123.31	130.64	133.78
Diseases of the heart	210.03	191.02	212.58	247.23	270.00
Diabetes Mellitus	10.63	8.60	11.94	10.24	15.71
Nephritis	10.22	5.53	4.85	18.10	12.27
Vascular lesions	90.80	85.17	76.64	95.59	115.17

TABLE 3.

DEATH RATES OF WHITE MALES BY SOCIAL RANK GROUP FOR SELECTED CAUSES OF DEATH, HOUSTON, TEXAS, 1949-1951.
(RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

Cause	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Tuberculosis	11.72	20.48	41.79	56.31	51.05
Pneumonia	4.94	10.17	16.48	17.27	7.85
Malignant neoplasms	101.89	109.10	125.41	133.13	125.27
Diseases of the heart	292.90	282.18	293.73	336.07	343.69
Diabetes mellitus	13.33	7.63	13.13	10.97	16.47
Nephritis	12.72	5.96	6.02	18.98	19.43
Vascular lesions	84.76	99.34	81.09	96.69	107.45

IV than in Group V, and the rates for diseases of the heart, diabetes mellitus, and nephritis are higher in Group I than Group II. Vascular lesions have their lowest incidence in Group III. In spite of these exceptions to the inverse relationship, comparison of the highest and lowest economic groups shows the death rates for each disease in Group V much higher than in Group I. The lower economic groups have an unfavorable mortality experience for both infectious and chronic diseases.

The death rates for women in Table 4 show a mortality pattern not great-

III, while for diseases of the heart Group II has the lowest rate. The tendency indicated in the total death rates (See Table 2.) for Groups II and III to have favorable mortality experience for the chronic diseases, except for malignant neoplasms, is not the result of a pattern of mortality peculiar to either sex.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary, mortality data for the seven leading diseases in Houston reveal the existence of an inverse relationship between mortality and socio-economic status for both the

TABLE 4.

DEATH RATES OF WHITE FEMALES BY SOCIAL RANK GROUP FOR SELECTED CAUSES OF DEATH, HOUSTON, TEXAS, 1949-1951.
(RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

Cause	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Tuberculosis	5.51	5.80	8.15	15.75	46.77
Pneumonia	8.74	8.27	11.09	9.44	22.52
Malignant neoplasms	95.96	122.36	121.68	127.45	142.26
Diseases of the heart	136.29	110.85	131.81	157.31	194.39
Diabetes mellitus	8.91	9.89	10.58	9.42	14.78
Nephritis	8.03	5.12	3.71	17.21	4.77
Vascular lesions	96.02	74.96	73.08	95.47	124.04

ly different from that of males. In comparison of the two extreme economic groups, Group V has higher death rates than Group I for all diseases except nephritis, for which the rates are low for all groups. The female death rates for nephritis and vascular lesions are lowest in Group

infectious and chronic diseases, with that of the infectious diseases most pronounced. The higher death rates of the lowest economic group, therefore, are not solely the result of higher rates for the infectious diseases and causes such as accidents and homicides, which have a high incidence in

the lower economic groups. In part the higher mortality in Groups IV and V results from a differential in the chronic disease rates. This finding is contrary to the frequently held assumption that these diseases bear no relationship to socio-economic status. The inverse relationship for the chronic diseases does not hold, however, in comparing Group I with Groups II and III, for the lowest rates for all of the chronic diseases except malignant neoplasms is found in one or the other of the latter groups. This fact would suggest a defect in the social rank categorization were it not that the infectious diseases, which are assumed more reflective of economic differences, actually do have their lowest rates in Group I, as would be expected.

Several conclusions may be drawn that have implications for both demographic research and public health policy. In recent years there has been a great deal of publicity given the chronic diseases by public health and charitable organizations, with emphasis upon the importance of early diagnosis and treatment in the control of the diseases. Many of these diseases can be controlled, and the life span thereby increased. The Houston data indicate a possible differential in either access to or receptivity to the information disseminated regarding the chronic diseases. The low rates for these diseases in Groups II and III suggest that possibly the people in these groups have greater contact with the agencies which publicize information about the diseases or with the communications media through which the information is conveyed. Organizations working for a reduction of deaths from chronic diseases should attempt to direct their programs toward reaching more people in the lower economic groups.

There is the further possibility that differences in the sub-cultures of the

groups may have a bearing on socio-economic differentials in mortality when death rates are low. The striking tendency for Group I to rank higher for all but one of the chronic disease rates (See Table 2.) than one or the other of the next two groups can hardly be explained by a lesser ability to afford treatment. The higher rates for heart disease and vascular lesions could result from greater tensions associated with the group's superior social status. This possibility needs investigation.

The fact that Groups IV and V have much higher chronic disease rates may well result from the organization of medical assistance in society together with an inability to afford treatment. The treatment of chronic diseases is not only expensive but is frequently of long duration. The lower economic groups can afford neither the cost of treatment nor the loss of wages during the periods of prolonged treatment. Those in the lower economic strata need not only free medical assistance but also some compensation to offset income losses. The latter is seldom available at all and the former only to the lowest income group. The data suggest the effect of this situation. The lowest economic group, which is presumed to have greater eligibility for free medical assistance, actually does have a lower death rate. (See Table 1.) But this is the result of the male rather than the female mortality experience. It is the high male mortality, for both infectious and chronic diseases, in Group IV which explains the high death rates of the group. (See Table 3.) Apparently this group devotes its inadequate financial resources largely to supplying treatment for the females, who are also more likely to be able to undergo treatment of long duration, since this will result in less income loss, if any, through loss of wages.

Finally, the data reported here suggest the possibility that socio-economic differentials in mortality are increasing so far as the chronic diseases are concerned. The findings, together with those of Yeracaris (13), are in contrast to the earlier reports of no association between economic status and deaths from the chronic diseases. This could reflect merely the improvement in the accuracy of mortality data and the availability of more detailed information upon which socio-economic categories may be constructed. But it is reasonable to assume that publicity giving information regarding the chronic diseases, together with the development of more effective treatment which often requires large financial outlay, may be producing a significant differential for these diseases. Data for Houston were not available for a study of trends in the differentials to test whether they are actually becoming larger. Further research on this aspect of the problem may well indicate the need for the agencies concerned with the control of the diseases to direct their efforts toward reducing the differential.

REFERENCES

1. Allen, Floyd P., *People of the Shadows* (Cincinnati: The Public Health Federation, 1954), pp. 15-21.
2. Allen, Floyd P., *We Pay With Our Lives* (Cincinnati: The Public Health Federation, 1948), pp. 5-7.
3. Coombs, Lolagene Convis, "Economic Differences in Causes of Death," *Medical Care*, 1 (July, 1941), 246-255.
4. Dodson, Jack E., *Differential Fertility in Houston, Texas, 1940-1950: A Study of Recent Trends*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Austin: The University of Texas, 1955).
5. Ellis, John M., *Mortality in Houston, Texas, 1940-1951: A Study of Socio-Economic Differentials* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1956).
6. Hagood, Margaret Jarman, *Statistics for Sociologists* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1941), pp. 843-847.
7. Mayer, Albert J., and Philip M. Hauser, "Class Differentials in Expectation of Life at Birth," *Revue de l'Institut International de Statistique*, 18 (1950), 197-200.
8. Moriyama, Iwao M., "Recent Mortality Trends and Differentials," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 46 (June, 1951), 213-219.
9. Price, Paul H., "Trends in Mortality Differentials in the United States," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 35 (December, 1954), 255-263.
10. United States Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, Characteristics by Age*, 4, Part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943).
11. United States Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population: 1950. Census Tract Statistics, Houston, Texas*, 3, Chapter 24 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952).
12. United States National Office of Vital Statistics, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1950*, 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954), Table 8.26, p. 170.
13. Yeracaris, Constantine A., "Differential Mortality, General and Cause-Specific in Buffalo, 1939-41," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 50 (December, 1955), 1235-1247.

REHOSPITALIZATION AND PERFORMANCE LEVEL AMONG FORMER MENTAL PATIENTS*

JAMES A. DAVIS

Yale University

HOWARD E. FREEMAN

Harvard University

OZZIE G. SIMMONS

Harvard University

Although precise estimates are not available, it is evident, from analyses of admission statistics, that a large proportion of released psychotic mental patients do not return to the hospital. As a rough guess, Clausen (3) suggests that there are several million former mental patients in the general population. Adler (1), in a study of two rural Arkansas counties, found that, one year after release from a state hospital, about three-fourths of the patients in her cohort were still in the community. In terms of the modest goal of having patients return to and remain in the community, it appears that present-day release practices of mental hospitals are surprisingly successful.

At the same time, both clinical opinion and fragmentary statistical evidence are counter to any assumption that hospitalization induces a wholesale movement toward improved health, and as Clausen (3) has noted, released mental patients run the gamut from those who func-

tion "normally" to many who are still as ill as hospitalized patients. Adler's (1) data suggest that less than one-fourth of released patients are regularly employed and approximate the general population in terms of cohesiveness of family relationships and degree of social participation. Over ten percent of her Arkansas sample can be fairly described as existing in one-person chronic wards.

This paper reports the results of an exploratory investigation of variables associated with levels of interpersonal performance of former mental patients who have succeeded in remaining out of the hospital for a minimum of 24 months. With specific reference to variations in interpersonal performance of patients, the research is primarily focused on (a) differences in structure of families to which patients return, and (b) differences in attitudes toward mental illness and hospitalization, on the one hand, and toward family and social participation on the other, both among the patients themselves and their relatives.** The analysis has both practical and theoretical implications. From a practical point of view, knowl-

*Revised form of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society held in New York City, April 13-14, 1957. The research is being undertaken by the Community Health Project of the Harvard School of Public Health, under the direction of Dr. Ozzie G. Simmons, and is supported by a special grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. In addition to the authors, the interdisciplinary team consists of Drs. Katherine Spencer, Stanley H. Cath, Leota L. Janke, Herbert Nabossek and Miss Dorothy M. Mathews, whose aid and suggestions are hereby acknowledged. Dr. Davis was a member of the staff until September, 1956.

**We wish to stress that our study deals with level of performance as defined in terms of *interpersonal* performance. We have not attempted to assess intrapsychic status from the psychiatric viewpoint. It is our belief, however, based upon field work experience and discussions with our clinical staff that the bulk of our "low" patients would be judged seriously disturbed by a psychiatrist, but we cannot present empirical evidence for this.

edge of the conditions under which released patients may be maintained in the community, despite a poor level of performance, should permit an assessment of release practices and an appraisal of the criteria under which such patients are permitted to leave the hospital. In more theoretical terms, an analysis of the conditions under which patients who perform poorly can remain out of the hospital contributes to the understanding of variables associated with tolerance levels of families to whom mental patients have been returned.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

The patients studied were drawn from a cohort of 126 patients consecutively admitted to the reception service of a large mental hospital in New England during the fall of 1952 and the spring of 1953. Since the 126 patients were previously studied by another research project, considerable information from hospital records and an earlier follow-up interview are available for the entire cohort. The cohort consists of patients formally diagnosed as "psychotic." Except for eliminating geriatric cases, no other restrictions were imposed upon the group.

For purposes of this research, an attempt was made to interview the 59 patients who were considered "successful," as well as a relative of each patient. "Success" is defined as having remained out of the hospital continuously for over two years. Forty-nine of the successful patients have never returned to the hospital and almost all of the 59 were continuously out of the hospital for almost three years.

As is well known, loss of informants is usually high in this type of research and this study is no exception.* It was possible to meet our

desired goal of interviewing both a patient and relative in less than half of the cases. In 16 of the 59 cases, despite very strenuous efforts, it was not possible to interview either the patient or his relative. Fortunately, hospital records were available, as well as the earlier interview by the other research group. On the basis of these data, sampling biases were assessed. In general, the completed cases represent the total successful group, although we may have underenumerated the more "rehabilitated" patients who live with their conjugal families.

In the analysis presented here, patients are dichotomized into groups on the basis of level of interpersonal performance. To group the patients, each was categorized as either "high" or "low" on a number of separate criteria: (a) the judgment of the interviewer, who in all cases was a clinically sophisticated person; (b) the judgment of the researchers, who assessed the completed interview schedule; (c) the judgment of the relative regarding the patient's behavior since release from the hospital; (d) data from the hospital record and interviews with patients and relative regarding work history since hospitalization; and (e) reports of patient and relative concerning extent, level, and intensity of participation in social activities since release from the hospital. Each rating was made independently of the others. The correlations of ratings with one another are remarkably high and indicate that all the criteria employed are related to a more general mode of interper-

made are extremely rare, but, in this connection, we may cite the results of a follow-up study of former patients who were in the community three years following the date of their commitment to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital in 1949. Of 144 possible interviews, 65, or 45%, were actually completed. See Bockoven, Pandiscio, and Solomon (2).

*Other follow-up studies of mental patients with which comparisons can be

sonal performance. Rankings of individual patients were so consistent from one criterion to the other that, without exception, there was no difficulty in placing the patients in one group or the other. For example, in all but three cases, it is possible to predict the level of interpersonal performance of patients using the work rating alone as the criterion.

Those patients rated "high" in interpersonal performance have the following characteristics: They work full time or are solely responsible for the care of the home; they participate in informal or formal social activities about as often as do other family members; they are able to relate well in the interview situation; and they were reported by their relatives to be "recovered," active in the life of the family and without such symptoms as long periods of depression or hallucinations.

The interview schedule consisted, for the most part, of open-ended questions. However, some thirty structured attitude questions were included to measure: (a) beliefs about the cause of mental illness; (b) feelings of anomie; (c) beliefs regarding whether or not mental illness basically changes a person; (d) feelings about mental hospitals; (e) attitudes toward social participation; and (f) attitudes toward cohesiveness of family life.* All the questions were developed specifically for this study with the exception of the anomie items developed by Srole. (4) In

*For the 50 respondents (25 patients and their 25 relatives) who comprised the matched pairs interviewed, an attempt was made to assess the unidimensionality of each set of items. In several cases, it was possible to retain three or four items; in others, only two of the items were highly correlated and the addition of others contaminated the ranking cases. Since the plan of analysis was to dichotomize the group, the primary purpose of the scaling procedure was to assess the

addition to these attitude items, the present analysis makes use of much of the social history data also obtained in the interviews.

FINDINGS

The fact that a substantial proportion of mental patients who leave the hospital do not return is confirmed in this cohort of 126 cases. At the time of the study two-thirds of the total cohort of patients were in the community. Over one-third of the cohort met our criteria of success. However, among these successes, only slightly more than 50 per cent were working full time or were responsible for the care of the home. On the combined level of performance measure, 55 per cent scored "high" and 45 per cent "low."

A number of variables were cross-tabulated with level of performance. Four variables, patient's age, sex, previous admissions, and diagnosis, did not show significant relationships with level of performance. Two variables are strongly related: those patients who, before hospitalization, (a) had more mature family relationships and who (b) participated more frequently in social activities were found in greater than expected numbers in the "high" group. (The two ratings were made by the research project that previously studied the cohort. Their family maturity scale used was based on a four point rating, covering the behavior of patients for a period of a year before admission. The rating was later dichotomized. The "high" group included those people who in most or

content areas which the items were tapping. Both the relatives and patients were dichotomized in the six attitude areas. In reporting this research, we recognize the limitations of working with crude measures, a small sample, incomplete interviewing, and dichotomous variables which may obscure the more subtle differences between cases.

all areas showed attitudes and behavior towards the major actors in their families [spouse, child, parents, siblings] not significantly deviating from "average." The "low" rating was reserved for those people who showed immature attitudes and behavior in most or all areas of family relationships. Their social participation rating also covered a period of a year before the patient's admission, and was also based on a four point scale which was later dichotomized. People who engaged in social activities [visiting friends, attending meetings of organizations] over once or twice a month were rated as "high;" those who participated in such activities less than once a month were rated as "low.") These findings are hardly surprising: those who were less sick when hospitalized are the healthier people three years after hospitalization. The strength of these relationships, however, indicates the need for controlling preadmission prognosis in studying the posthospital experience of mental patients.

Structural differences: There is a significant relationship between level of performance and type of family to which the patient is released. The patients who scored on the low side of the level of performance dichotomy are concentrated in parental families; conversely, patients who live in con-

jugal families tend to have a high level of performance.

An attempt was made to explore whether or not events earlier in the life of the patient could account for this relationship. Of particular concern was the real possibility that patients who come from parental families were sicker when hospitalized than those who come from conjugal families or live alone. The analysis was carried out by controlling on the two prehospitalization ratings—family maturity and social participation—which, as noted previously, were found to correlate with posthospital performance. The results indicate that the past experience of the patient explains only part of the relationship and it appears reasonably certain that the correlation between family type and level of performance is not an artifact of the association between family type and prehospital psychiatric state.

A second possibility considered was that patients who return to parental families are less well at the time of release. If parental families are more likely to receive a released patient with a low level of performance, we should find a higher "release rate" for patients returning to such families than for patients returning to conjugal families or to live by themselves. From the information available on the entire cohort of 126, it was possible to test this alternative indirectly. The data indicate that actually a somewhat smaller proportion of patients from parental families are released than from any other family setting. Thus, it is not possible to attribute our finding to this possibility.

Attitude Differences: The attitude differences between patients with high and low levels of performance, and between the relatives of the two groups are summarized in Tables 2

TABLE 1.
RELATION BETWEEN
PERFORMANCE LEVEL AND TYPE OF
FAMILY IN WHICH 42 "SUCCESSFUL"
RELEASED MENTAL PATIENTS
RESIDE

Family Type	Performance Level		N
	Low	High	
Parental Families	5	13	18
Conjugal Families or Living Alone	18	6	24
	23	19	42
Chi Square = 7.45 $p > .01$			

and 3. First, it is to be noted that the relatives seem to be differentially distributed in more areas than the patients themselves. That patients with a high level of performance tend to attribute mental illness to environmental factors rather than to heredity and are more likely to have favorable attitudes toward social participation may be viewed as the results of a more therapeutic hospital experience. The differences between the relatives may well be accurate perceptual distinctions: relatives of the patients with a high level of performance may like the hospital because it helped the patient; deny that mental illness basically changes a person because they perceive their sick relative's performance, after hospitalization, as "normal;" and view the cause of mental illness as environmental since

they observe movement toward health on the part of the patient. In terms of their more favorable attitudes toward a cohesive family life, it can be suggested that the family members of the "high" patients are "healthier."

The strength of the relationships reported here, if replication proves them reliable, suggests that it is possible to develop predictive instruments from patients' and relatives' attitude responses as well as from family structural differences. As an example, remarkably efficient prediction of post-hospital performance is obtained when patients are scored "plus" if (a) they have an environmental view of the cause of mental illness; (b) have relatives who have favorable attitudes toward mental hospitals; and (c) have relatives who do not think mental illness basically changes a person.

TABLE 2

RESPONSES OF PATIENTS WITH HIGH LEVEL OF INTERPERSONAL PERFORMANCE

High Performers' Response on Attitude Questions	Significance of Difference between High and Low Performers		
	Statistically Significant p is less than .05	Clear Trend	Slight Trend
1. Less feeling of anomie			*
2. Environmental view of cause of mental illness	*		
3. Mental illness does not basically change a person			*
4. Favorable to mental hospitals			*
5. Favorable to social participation		*	
6. Favors cohesive family life			*

TABLE 3.

RESPONSES OF RELATIVES OF PATIENTS WITH HIGH LEVEL OF INTERPERSONAL PERFORMANCE

Response on Attitude Questions of Relatives of High Performers	Significance of Difference between Relatives of High Performers and Relatives of Low Performers		
	Statistically Significant p is less than .05	Clear Trend	Slight Trend
1. More feeling of anomie			*
2. Environmental view of cause of mental illness		*	
3. Mental illness does not basically change a person	*		
4. Favorable to mental hospitals	*		
5. Favorable to social participation		*	
6. Favors cohesive family life	*		

TABLE 4.
PREDICTION TABLE BASED UPON
THREE ATTITUDE VARIABLES

Number of "Plus" Responses	Number of Patients by Performance Level		
	High	Low	Total
0	0	2	2
1	3	5	8
2	3	4	7
3	8	0	8
	14	11	25

Coefficient of Improvement of Prediction
=46%

INTERPRETATION

Even when extra-familial disparities, such as psychiatric state before hospitalization and at the time of release, are controlled, it appears that patients with a low level of performance cluster in parental families. The hypothesis can be advanced that this type of family is more likely to tolerate a patient with a low level of performance. If parental families are more tolerant of patients with low levels of performance, then, over time, proportionately more low level patients should be returned to the hospital from other than parental setting. Table 5 contrasts the family setting, at release, of the 39 patients from the cohort of 126 who left the hospital

TABLE 5.
FAMILY TYPE OF PATIENTS
REHOSPITALIZED AND THOSE WITH
LOW LEVEL OF PERFORMANCE WHO
REMAIN IN THE COMMUNITY

	Family Type		Total
	Parental	Other	
Rehospitalized	15	24	39*
In Community	13	6	19
	28	30	58

Chi Square = 3.47 $p > .05$

*Family type data for these 39 cases were secured from the other research group. The rehospitalized cases are part of the "failures" in the cohort of 126 and were not interviewed in this study.

but were not successful in remaining in the community with the settings of the 19 patients, previously discussed, with low levels of performance who met our criteria of success. The relationship is statistically significant and supports our hypothesis.

This hypothesis is consistent with the fact that, in the parental family, the role of the child is the only social-biological role without expectations of instrumental performance. The child's role, regardless of age, consists largely of affective relationships with parents and, compared to other family roles, is not as concerned with instrumental performance. To the extent that the grown-up "child" in the parental family has specific prescriptions built into his role, the structure of such families usually provides for alternative actors who can replace or supplement his performance when it is below expectation. For example, unlike "spouses," or those who live alone, "children," even if employed, are seldom the sole workers in a family and are free of the stresses associated with the breadwinner role.

The responses to the attitude items support our thesis that patients who perform poorly remain out of the hospital when there is greater tolerance of non-instrumental role performance on the part of family members. Relatives of patients who perform poorly express attitudes which can be interpreted as functionally related to their tolerance of non-instrumental behavior. Their negative attitude toward the hospital, their belief that mental illness basically changes a person, and their feeling that mental illness is inborn permits a rationalization of helplessness and a perception that their only alternative is to accept the patient.

Our interpretation does not imply that all patients who leave the hospital in a poorly "rehabilitated" status

and return to families that expect instrumental performance are rehospitalized. For one thing, our analysis has not considered the possibility that the patient's performance level may change *after* release. A judgment was secured from the relatives regarding whether or not the patient had improved or regressed since the first few months after release. For the twenty-five cases included in the attitude analysis, eight of the cases were reported as changed for the better and two as changed for the worse. Although this further breakdown resulted in very small numbers in our cells and the results are not statistically significant, there is some trend for those who improved to cluster in conjugal families. Also, those who improved were found in greater than expected proportions in families where relatives had an environmental view of mental illness, did not believe that mental illness basically changes a person, and favored social participation and a more cohesive family life. It can be suggested that patients may move toward instrumental role performance when there is an expectation of such performance and a lack of tolerance for non-instrumental role behavior. While assessment of movement does not alter our interpretation, since differential change does not explain away the relationship with family type, it does suggest that a full understanding of the setting of the released patient should consider differential potentiality for facilitating instrumental role performance. Our data hint (and only hint since the relationships are not significant) that the familial settings least tolerant of deviance may be, at the same time, those which have the greatest potentiality for posthospital improvement. If this is so, it may well be that the return of poorly "rehabilitated" patients to family situ-

ations where non-instrumental performance is tolerated might constitute a permanent release but at the same time would insulate them from further movement toward health.

CONCLUSIONS

Fortunately, we can end this report of an exploratory investigation without recourse to the frequently-made comment that further research is required. A large sample study, designed from the findings and insights gained in the research reported here, as well as the other work of the Community Health Project, is now underway. With a much larger cohort of released patients, drawn from all the hospitals in a New England metropolitan area, we are attempting to re-examine the findings reported in this paper and control additional relevant variables which will further elucidate the results of this exploratory study. It is hoped, through this larger study, to answer such key questions as:

Are there actually differences in tolerance of deviant behavior in different types of family structure? Are there differences in attitudes and role structures of families where patients have and have not shown movement toward health since release?

Is instrumental role performance of released patients a key issue for conjugal families and a matter of relative indifference to parental families?

While our interpretations of structural and attitudinal differences as associated with family types have helped us "make sense" out of a disparate distribution of sick and well patients, this more definitive study will provide a more stringent test of the validity of the findings reported here.

REFERENCES

1. Adler, Leta M., "Patients of a State Mental Hospital: The Outcome of Their Hospitalization," in Arnold M. Rose (ed.), *Mental Health and Mental Disorder* (New York: Norton, 1955), pp. 501-523.
2. Bockoven, J. S., A. R. Pandiscio, and H. R. Solomon, "Social Adjustment of Patients in the Community Three Years after Commitment to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital," *Mental Hygiene*, 40 (1956), 353-374.
3. Clausen, John A., *Sociology and the Field of Mental Health* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956).
4. Srole, Leo, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (December, 1956), 709-716.

BOOK REVIEWS

Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States.

By E. Franklin Frazier. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957. 263 pp. \$4.00.

Reaction to this latest volume on the Negro in the United States by Professor Frazier has been, as could be expected, highly mixed. Perhaps as important as the book itself — and just as instructive — are the responses of the author's professional colleagues, his Negro middle-class associates, and the more articulate spokesmen on race relations in both the Negro and white communities.

Whatever else may be said of *Black Bourgeoisie* (and much can be said), it is insightful, provocative, and by all means "controversial." Thus it will be read, pondered, attacked, and defended. And in the process, our understanding of the Negro middle class and its relation to the larger bi-racial society of which it is an increasingly important part will be enhanced. Moreover, it will serve to illumine the middle-class white world since the parallels are striking, with almost every page inviting comparisons.

A sample of the reactions to this book, published originally in French under the title of *Bourgeois Noir*, suggests the wide range of feeling and opinion about it. In 1956, it received the MacIver Award of the American Sociological Society as the outstanding piece of sociological research completed during the past two years. A former president of the Society has observed that *Black Bourgeoisie* is "one of the most excellent instances of sociological research in the last fifteen years," and he commends Frazier for his refusal to manipulate abstract data divorced from the world of reality and for his insistence on "a realistic analysis of that world."

On the other hand, one of the top officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has argued that "it is incredible that a man of Professor Frazier's scholarly gifts should have produced so superficial a volume . . ." The same reviewer concluded that while Frazier may have received the highest award available from his fellow sociologists, "it is highly unlikely that his fellow Negroes will bestow a similar honor

upon him." Indeed, this has proved all too true in certain cases; one Negro editor, for example, obviously a member of the Negro middle class, observed that Frazier, along with Ethel Waters and Saunders Redding, "fell for publicity and fortune . . . to sell their own people down the river."

Between these two poles there is a third reaction which concedes that Frazier has said something important but denies that he has written the definitive study. This point of view cites gaps in his quantitative data, questions his selection and interpretation of supporting evidence, regrets his failure to examine the problem in the context of the barrenness of American middle-class life generally, and deplores his attempt to make a two-hundred per cent case for his major thesis.

Much of the material that appears in *Black Bourgeoisie* is not new. In fact, a considerable portion of it was developed earlier by Frazier himself in such works as *The Negro Family in the United States* and *The Negro in the United States*. Nor is the interpretation that he places on such data particularly novel. One cannot help recalling the author's "Human: All Too Human," a provocative article appearing a decade ago, in which he castigated Negro businessmen, professionals, civil servants, and other middle class elements for their tendency to sacrifice racial solidarity and group betterment at the altar of personal gain, clique exclusiveness, and ritualistic behavior in face of continued rejection by the larger white world. *Black Bourgeoisie* is an expansion of this theme, supported by a wide range of material, from census data on income differentials to "society" columns from the Negro press.

What is essentially new is the sharpness and force of Frazier's assertions, his at times implied and at

other times forthright insistence, that while the Negro has made substantial gains during the past three decades, the resulting advantages do not really amount to very much. Here he has called into question, almost cruelly, the easy optimism which has surrounded changing patterns of Negro-white relations in this country. Of course, the spokesmen of this optimism may not like what he says, and it would be surprising if many of them did; they ought to be grateful to him, however, for reminding them of the shaky ground on which their enthusiasm rests and of the enormous task yet to be done. They should note, too, that while Professor Frazier is highly critical of the Negro middle class — its tenuous foundations, its exclusiveness, its ritualism, its self-hatred, and its "nothingness" — he is also both directly and indirectly critical of the larger order which has produced this phenomenon.

And yet, one cannot accept unqualifiedly Frazier's characterization of the Negro middle class. Granted that his data are substantial, granted that he is one of the foremost students of race-relations in this country, granted further that he has a long and intimate acquaintance with the group under study; there still exist other data and other interpretations essential to a well-rounded exploration.

For one thing, not all middle-class Negroes fit neatly into Frazier's pattern. Many do join the battle for group betterment, although they may reject his strategy and employ different tactics. They shell out when the NAACP asks for funds; they serve on local committees pressing for residential desegregation; and, without doubt, experience psychic pain in carrying the program directly to the white powers that be; they are active in the political arena, demanding fair employment practices, equalization of educational opportunities, and impar-

tial treatment in the courts. Whatever their private lives may be, their substantial involvements in the above efforts cannot be ignored.

Secondly, their preoccupation with middle-class values, deplorable as it is, cannot be considered completely sterile. Within the Negro community itself these people exemplify standards that are generally sanctioned by American society. Specifically, they symbolize the fact that the prevailing norms of education, work, dress, and general conduct can be attained by Negroes. To the extent that one accepts the middle-class value schema, he must concede that along with all their tortured frivolity, white-collar Negroes do make a positive contribution when they support causes to enlarge the opportunities of the race and also when they symbolize the capacity of Negroes to use these opportunities.

But much of what Frazier has to say goes to the heart of middle-class values themselves. Indeed, if the word, *Black*, were eliminated from the title of this book, the volume could stand as an indictment of the whole American bourgeoisie. Narrowness, impotence, self-absorption, and pretension are not peculiarities of the Negro middle class; car salesmen, bank clerks, and college professors, both colored and white, may find their lives adding up to "nothingness." The only distinguishing feature of the Negro bourgeoisie is the fact that they have not yet won full acceptance in the middle-class world of tract houses, grey flannel suits, and "togetherness." Meanwhile, they lie suspended between their racial identification and their middle-class aspirations.

Frazier has written a provocative book, one which deserves to be widely read and argued over. That it will get its just reward in this respect is virtually assured.

WILSON RECORD

Sacramento State College

American Families. By Paul C. Glick. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957. xiv, 240 pp. \$6.00.

This is an extraordinarily valuable reference book not only for demographers but for sociologists in general. Written by the Census Bureau's chief expert on national family statistics, this book was officially supported by the Bureau itself and the Social Science Research Council for the purpose of aiding social scientists and practitioners. It represents far more than a mere assemblage of scattered tables from Census publications, valuable as that would be in making data more accessible. In addition, there are numerous new tabulations made of data gathered by the Bureau's Current Population Surveys as recently as 1955. Significantly, these tables not only provide extensions of trends shown in the decennial censuses but include new cross breaks to show relationships between variables of interest to the sociologist. Finally, the author has not hesitated to go beyond the limits of his data to theorize about the factors involved in the observed relationships. His extensive knowledge of the relevant sociological literature is drawn upon to provide insights into probable causative factors. From this point of view the book is a rich source of explicit hypotheses which will engage the talents of researchers for years to come with urgently needed testing.

Rather than simply raw numbers, much of the data is presented in such useful forms as percentage distributions and medians. Graphic methods have been widely used to show at a glance the statistical trends and relationships. For instance, a series of three maps dramatically portrays the declining size of American households in the forty-eight states from 1930 to 1950. However, some tables confuse the reader by presenting dicennial

data from right to left instead of progressing in the usual manner from left to right.

The major subdivisions of the book deal with family composition, the family life cycle, marriage and remarriage rates, separation, divorce and bereavement rates, plus projections up to 1975 of household and family formation. The value of these chapters can be best revealed, however, by presenting a few of the detailed findings.

For instance, Negro families have significantly higher rates of doubling up with relatives, of children being raised by non-relatives, and of marital separations, even after status controls such as education are introduced. Nearly half of all teen-age married couples live doubled up with relatives, and their divorce rate is strikingly high. When couples do double up, they are more apt to move in with the wife's family, where mother-in-law conflict is presumably less.

Low status men have the highest divorce rate but, once divorced, are less apt to remarry than more prosperous divorced men. Similarly, single men past the usual age at marriage appear to be the socially incompetent, at least as measured by their low incomes. Spinsters, by contrast, have relatively high incomes. Low status women tend to marry men considerably older than themselves, whereas in the middle class, the age gap between husbands and wives is smaller.

The evidences are considerable that marriage is currently a thriving institution in America. The long term rise in the divorce rate is offset by a corresponding rise in the remarriage rate. Moreover, nine tenths of those Americans who married in 1920 were still living with the same spouse in 1950 (if the brittle teen-age marriages are excluded). Home ownership (vs. renting) returned to the 1890 level

for farmers in 1950, reversing a long time decline, and reached a new high for city dwellers. Since 1950 the long term decline in average family size has been reversed and the proportion of couples who are voluntarily childless appears to be approaching zero.

For the future, the post-war baby boom will shortly be reflected in a tremendous growth in the number of new households being formed by marriage, with a probable increase in doubling up as an acute housing shortage develops.

These are only a few of the almost countless findings which are presented and documented in this book to which sociologists and social practitioners will find themselves referring again and again in the years ahead.

ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR.

University of Michigan

Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences. Edited by Mirra Komarovsky. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press and the Falcon's Wing Press, 1957. viii, 440 pp. \$6.00.

This symposium is distinctly different from earlier assessments of the state of interdisciplinary relations among the social sciences. First, it examines only the interrelations of the three disciplines of history, economics, and sociology, rather than the entire range of the social sciences or the common combination of anthropology, social psychology, and sociology. Second, it rejects the usual device for presenting these interconnections by systematic elaborations of each field in relation to others in favor of "studies of specific topics in common areas of research."

Despite Mirra Komarovsky's valuable introductory essay on the sources of genuine intellectual disagreements, and the modes of convergence, within

the social sciences, the thirteen main chapters of the volume are relatively lacking in unity and cohesiveness. Possibly, this discreteness is inherent in the approach adopted. In any event, little connection exists between Part I ("History and Social Research") and Part II ("Economics and Sociology"), except that the articles are illustrations of — or are the point of departure for — Komarovsky's analysis. Part I does not even concern sociology as a whole. Its six selections are more accurately research exemplifications and professional appraisals of the possible impact which the problems, techniques, and data of the specialized area of public opinion research may have on history. Of the seven papers of Part II, only three inquire directly into joint-interests of economics and sociology (in the field of industrial relations). Two articles are antithetical evaluations of the Mayo approach in the study of work relations and the third proposes the application of reference group theory to certain aspects of labor union behavior. The other four inquiries exhibit more exclusively economic preoccupations.

Nevertheless, specialists in social problems should find abundant implications for their field in at least four of the articles in addition to Komarovsky's contribution:

1. Russell E. Planck's research on "Public Opinion in France After the Liberation, 1944-1949," points to the varied uses of public opinion information: as possible data on the character of major values, on the consequences of class position for political affiliation and party cohesion in value-controversies, on the role of concrete historical events and public expressions of major personalities in altering value-commitments, and as bases for initiating cross-cultural investigations of social problems situations. His monograph embodies empirical find-

ings on each of these functions, except the last.

2. Although Leo Lowenthal's and Marjorie Fiske's inquiry into the "Debate Over Art and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England" is preoccupied with explaining change in literary criticism in terms of the shift from an economic reliance on the patronage of the aristocracy to financial dependence on mass markets of middle and working class consumers, it suggests the illuminating potentialities of explicit, delimited historical research into the connections between the emergence of certain modern value-conflicts and the economy, technology, and social organization of mass production and consumption.

3. Like C. Wright Mills' earlier study of "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," Clark Kerr's and Lloyd Fisher's analysis of the value-premises of "Plant Sociology: The Elite and Aborigines" (the Mayo school of industrial sociology) should be an incentive to periodic reassessments of the presuppositions in the theoretical orientations in social problems. Kerr and Fisher scrutinize the researches of Elton Mayo and T. N. Whitehead, as the founders, and George C. Homans and William Foote Whyte, as the disciples, of the original approach. The authors insist that the Mayo orientation contains a value system, a theoretical system, and a program of social policy which derive from two basic assumptions: 1) that the small group of the "plant or work shop is the decisive unit for human activity;" it is Society; and 2) that a stable, secure plant, whose members know their position in the status hierarchy and can understand one another and their skilled, natural leaders in an effective system of communication, is the Good Society. Kerr and Fisher allege that once these assumptions were accepted, the focus, problems, methods, results, and policy

recommendations of the school were determined.

4. Seymour Lipset's and Martin Trow's application of reference group theory to labor union bargaining behavior, in their "Reference Group Theory and Trade Union Wage Policy," may be taken as one model of the many possibilities which are offered to the field of social problems by the study of the "comparative evaluations that individuals make of their own situations and those of others." The authors' four types of determinants in the selection of reference groups—size and scope of the social structure itself, externally imposed but institutionally prescribed norms, moral legitimacy imputed to relationships among social structures or within a social structure, and leadership manipulation in the course of competition or conflict with other social structures—would appear to have broad relevancy for the investigation of social problems.

ROSCOE C. HINKLE, JR.

The Ohio State University

Tokugawa Religion. By Robert N. Bellah. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957. ix, 249 pp. \$5.00.

This interesting study might perhaps be called, "The Samurai Ethic and the Spirit of Political Capitalism." It is an application of Weber's thesis to the development of industrialism in Japan. Did the major value elements and the religious emphases of the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) help to prepare the way for Japan's rapid industrialization? Bellah argues that they did: "... religion played an important role in the process of political and economic rationalization in Japan through maintaining and intensifying commitment to the central values, supplying motivation and legitimation for certain necessary po-

litical innovations and reinforcing an ethic of inner-worldly asceticism which stressed diligence and economy." (p. 194)

The author, trained both in Far Eastern languages and in sociology, draws his concepts primarily from Weber and from Talcott Parsons, with a dash of Paul Tillich. Throughout his study are lucid descriptions, particularly of the general themes found in the diverse patterns of Japanese religions. Developments during the Tokugawa period often showed remarkable parallels with ascetic Protestantism, although there were, of course, important differences. With a little straining, for example, one might draw a parallel between Ishida Baigan (1685-1744) and Richard Baxter, seventeenth-century English divine to whom Weber frequently referred.

The whole essay has the same plausibility, even probability, that one finds in Weber's research — and the same methodological difficulties. There are few to quarrel today with the general proposition that religion is an integral part of a social system, influencing and being influenced by the total structure. When there are forces toward change — increasing trade, urbanization, culture contact, industrialization—the responses that a society will make will partly be determined by the religious values it carries into the new situation (however one may explain their own origin). The extent and nature of the religious influence, however, require careful explanation. One can argue that the developments in the various types of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shintoism served for Japanese economic change similar supportive functions to those of Protestantism in Europe, as the author does. Or one can argue that a somewhat similar economic setting encouraged remarkably similar religious developments in Japan and Europe despite the great differences.

(Bellah himself indicates that a national market, victory of a money economy, urbanization, increased industrialization, enrichment of the merchants, the rise of a new artistic and literary culture appropriate to town dwellers, and other changes were increasingly characteristic of Japan during the period under review.)

To explore this causal sequence requires fuller treatment of the economic development and changes that Bellah gives. Having chosen, with Weber, to study only one side of the causal chain, he is not in a good position to explore the step by step interaction between religion and the economic-political complex. The "time sequence of the variables" is the key methodological problem in this kind of research, but it is not adequately handled. Statements of congeniality between ascetic religious norms and political-economic requirements are sometimes taken as statements of cause.

We need to know more about the religious choices available to the various audiences. Whom did they repudiate, as well as accept? How did their responses affect the messages of the religious interpreters? How is the process of "routinization of charisma" to be interpreted in the analysis of the mutual influence of religion and the secular setting?

Good use is made of many of Parsons' concepts to organize the material and to compare various social systems. Occasionally — not often — there is a tendency to try to use them as basic explanatory principles rather than as descriptive terms. To say that the members of a society emphasized particularism is scarcely to explain why they do certain things, but is only to describe what it is that they do.

Despite my reservations about methodology, I think this is an excel-

lent study. It contributes to the growing awareness of the ways in which values are involved in social processes. The author is well acquainted with a wide range of data which he uses in close conjunction with theoretical elaboration. The study is the kind of reaching out into relatively unexplored areas that the sociology of religion needs.

J. MILTON YINGER

Oberlin College

The Communist Trials and the American Tradition. By John Somerville. New York: Cameron Associates, Inc., 1956. 256 pp. \$3.50.

This is for the most part an essay in popular journalism, replete with purple passages, special pleading, and sundry irrelevancies. The jacket of the book states that it "goes to the root of 'the Communist problem.'" This is precisely what it does not do. Instead Dr. Somerville, best known for a highly laudatory book on *Soviet Philosophy*, here gives an account of his testimony as a defense witness at several of the Smith Act trials of secondary leaders of the Communist Party. (The disingenuousness of the author becomes apparent when we note that he persists in referring to his role as an 'expert witness', thus obscuring the fact that he acted as a witness for the defense.) The account is in the main based on the author's testimony at the trial of a number of local Communist leaders at the Eastern District Court of Pennsylvania in July, 1954.

While the prosecution attempted to show that the doctrine of the Communist Party included the advocacy of force and violence, Dr. Somerville argued the somewhat contradictory thesis that American culture heroes such as Locke, Jefferson and Lincoln had, like the Communists, believed in

the inherent right to revolution, but that the Communist Party did not in fact advocate force and violence. On the one hand it would then seem as if the Communist Party simply continued the glorious tradition of Jefferson and Lincoln, but on the other hand, as Mr. Dooley used to say, 'not so fast.'

Maurice Thorez, the French Communist leader, wrote a number of years ago that the Communist Party "is not a party like the others." This basic fact must be the touchstone of any consideration of this party, be it sociological, legal, or moral. Ignoring this blurs the real issues. One may indeed, as does this reviewer, oppose the Smith Act and the prosecution of Communists based on it, but rational consideration of courses of action requires adequate knowledge; it requires an understanding of the fact that Communists are neither agrarian

reformers nor belated followers of Jefferson.

Yet there is an interesting use to which this book might be put by sociologists, a use hardly intended by the author. The interchanges between the defense witness and the prosecution on the precise meaning of a sentence or a paragraph in the writings of Lenin, Stalin, or William Foster involved a kind of subtle strategic game in which a number of devices such as innuendo, evasion, feigned misunderstanding, etc., were used with considerable skill by both parties. Analysis of the application of these techniques would be quite rewarding for sociologists interested in conflict as a form of interaction. But then the full court record might prove more rewarding in this respect than Dr. Somerville's book.

LEWIS A. COSER

Brandeis University

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Listing of a publication below does not preclude its being reviewed in a subsequent issue of *SOCIAL PROBLEMS*:

Adair, Aileen. *The Moon Is Full*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 200 pp. \$4.75.

Allen, Francis R., Hornell Hart, Delbert C. Miller, William F. Ogburn, Meyer F. Nimkoff. *Technology and Social Change*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957. xii, 529 pp. \$7.00.

Bauer, Raymond A., Alex Inkeles, Clyde Kluckhohn. *How The Soviet System Works*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. xiv, 274 pp. \$4.75.

Becker, Gary S. *The Economics of Discrimination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. x, 137 pp. \$3.50.

Cirtautas, K. C. *The Refugee: A Psychological Study*. Boston: The Meador Publishing Co., 1957. 166 pp. \$3.00.

Clemens, Alphonse H. *Marriage and the Family*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1957. xii, 356 pp. \$4.50.

Denny, Reuel. *The Astonished Muse*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. 264 pp. \$4.50.

Edwards, R. Dudley and T. Desmond Williams (Editors). *The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History, 1845-52..* New York: New York University Press, 1957. xx, 517 pp. \$6.00.

Fairchild, Henry Pratt. *The Anatomy of Freedom*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. xiii, 103 pp. \$3.50.

Fichter, Joseph H. *Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. xiii, 450 pp. \$5.00.

Hirschfeld, Gerhard. *An Essay on Man-kind*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. xii, 114 pp. \$3.75.

- Kahn, Robert L. and Charles F. Cannell. *The Dynamics of Interviewing*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957. x, 368 pp. \$7.75.
- Lafitte, Paul. *The Person in Psychology: Reality or Abstraction?* New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. x, 233 pp. \$6.00.
- Lauterbach, Albert. *Increasing The Wealth of Nations*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. 40 pp. \$1.00.
- Meier, Gerald M. and Robert Baldwin. *Economic Development: Theory, History, Policy*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957. xix, 588 pp. \$8.50.
- Merton, Robert K. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. (Revised and Enlarged edition). Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957. xviii, 645 pp. \$7.50.
- Modigliani, Piero. *Journal of a Scientist*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 136 pp. \$3.75.
- O'Connor, D. J. *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. vii, 148 pp. \$3.75.
- Suchman, Abraham. *Codetermination: Laborers Middle Way in Germany*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. viii, 247 pp. \$4.50.
- Stott, D. H. *Unsettled Children and Their Families*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 240 pp. \$6.00.
- Thorne, Florence Calvert. *Samuel Gompers, American Statesman*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. xi, 174 pp. \$3.75.
- Tomasic, D. A. *National Communism and Soviet Strategy*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. viii, 222 pp. \$4.50.
- Vincent, Clark E. *Readings in Marriage Counseling*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1957. xii, 500 pp. \$4.50.
- Warner, Samuel J. *The Urge to Mass Destruction*. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1957. xii, 188 pp. \$3.50.

REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

JOINT NEWSLETTER ON DESEGREGATION*

What are social scientists doing in the area of desegregation? This newsletter aims to provide some recent information about such activities, and hopes to bring together people and ideas.

At the 1956 Detroit meetings of SSSP, it was decided to attempt to promote field research into "crisis" communities. With the aid of small grants from the Anti-Defamation League, five of these "quickies" have been done. Clinton was studied by Anna Holden, Bonita Valien, Preston Valien and Francis Manis of Fisk; Sturgis, Ky., was studied by Roscoe Giffen of Berea; Beaumont, Tex., was reported on by Warren Breed of Tulane; and John Howard Griffin and Theodore Freedman did Mansfield, Tex. These four concerned

school openings; the fifth, by Lewis M. Killian and C. U. Smith of Tallahassee describes the bus situation there. They are available from ADL, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22. We would like suggestions for further studies — not only of crises, but of developing situations and processes.

Suggestions are anticipated at the panel session scheduled for August 26 at the national meetings in the Shoreham Hotel, Washington. Topic is "Needed Research in Desegregation." Panelists are Joseph H. Fichter, Loyola of the South; Paul B. Foreman, Alabama; Mozell C. Hill of Atlanta; Morton B. King Jr., of Northwestern; Edward A. Suchman of Cornell, and Preston Valien of Fisk.

Another spur to research and theorizing is the monograph "Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions," by Edward A. Suchman, John P. Dean and Robin M. Williams Jr. This work was first assembled in 1954, but never reached publication. It has been shortened and the committee and ADL are working toward its publication. It will be a major theoretical contribution, since hypotheses de-

*This is an abbreviated version of the May 1957 Joint Newsletter on Desegregation, published by the Committee on Desegregation and Integration of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, and the Committee on Intergroup Relations of the Society for the Study of Social Problems. Edited by Eleanor Leacock and Warren Breed.

rived from it can guide more systematic research.

SPSSI has established an interdisciplinary Committee on Desegregation and Integration, to help in the formulation of research projects and procurement of funds, the organization of round-table discussions of social scientists to integrate and stimulate research, and the publication of printed materials and a documentary film on desegregation.

Otto Klineberg reports that the statement attacking as scientifically unjustified theories that the intellectual potential of Negroes is inferior to that of whites, and signed by 18 prominent social scientists, has received considerable publicity. This was a documented reply to the McGurk article in *U.S. News and World Report*.

Marian Radke Yarrow, of the National Institutes of Health, carried on a study of the shift from segregation to integration in a children's camp during the summer of 1955, with the assistance of John D. Campbell and Leon J. Yarrow. The Laboratory of Socio-environmental Studies of the National Institute of Mental Health, and Family and Child Services of Washington, D.C. were joint sponsors. In Virginia, a white and a Negro camp started on a segregated basis, but the policy was changed in mid-summer to integration. They were able to study campers and adult leaders under both situations, as to the processes by which children form impressions of each other and relate themselves to each other in newly formed situations, the interpersonal dynamics of racial integration among children, and the role of the leader and his expectations regarding the children.

Jerome Lauchlit, of Morris Harvey College, Charleston, W. Va., explored the attitudes of some 400 white students who selected West Virginia State, a formerly Negro college.

Constance B. Nelson, School of Education, University of Kansas City, reports on a study of teachers' attitudes during the first year of desegregation in the Kansas City public schools. "It seems to me," she writes, "that teachers, administrators, and social scientists need each other during this transition period. I hope the SPSSI and SSSP may find effective ways to help."

Margaret Dudley, from the same school, used sociometric methods to test the hypothesis that actual social participation changes attitudes in a positive direction.

Dr. Ernest Q. Campbell of Florida State University has data on changes of attitudes toward desegregation among students in the Oak Ridge, Tenn., public schools. His material bears on three important points, in his own words: "1. some problems of measurement in attitude change studies; 2. the role of the classroom teacher and of the school administration in preparation for desegregation; and 3. content analysis of student reports of their reaction to the desegregation experience." He also has questionnaire data from the Negro students involved.

Harold Turner of the Jefferson County Public Schools, Lakewood, Colo., has completed a dissertation on desegregation in two Illinois schools, for Peabody College, Nashville.

John H. Fenton and Forrest E. LaViolette of Tulane have completed a study of desegregation as a social movement.

Th Anti-Defamation League has a new catalogue announcing relevant publications. One of the most interesting is a 112-page digest of recent research, *SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION*, by Melvin M. Tumin of Princeton. It describes some of the most significant studies in the area since 1951.

Four articles in the area of Negro-white relations appeared in the May 1957 issue of *Social Forces*. One of them presents Guttman scales and resulting data from Kramer's three dimensions of prejudice (cognition, emotion and motivation). The authors are Louise E. Merz and Leonard L. Pearlman.

Roy E. Carter of the University of North Carolina has a content analysis of comparative treatment of news on desegregation by southern newspapers, in the Winter 1957 issue of *Journalism Quarterly*.

Communications to SPSSI should be addressed to Robert S. Lee, Research Center for Human Relations, New York U., Washington Square, New York 3; to SSSP, to Warren Breed, Newcomb College, Tulane U., New Orleans 18, La.

SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS PROGRAM OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C.
August 26-29, 1957

MONDAY, AUGUST 26

8:30 A.M.

REGISTRATION (West Lobby)

**MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE (North Room)**

9:30 A.M.

**MEETING OF CHAIRMEN OF
SPECIAL PROBLEMS COMMIT-
TEES (Tamerlaine Room)**

Presiding: FRANK F. LEE

10:00-11:45 A.M.

**ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING
(West Room)**

Presiding: MABEL A. ELLIOTT

**12:00-2:30 P.M. LUNCHEON SES-
SION (Palladian Room)**

LAW ENFORCEMENT

*Presiding: MARVIN B. SUSSMAN, Western
Reserve University*

*HONORABLE EMANUEL CELLER, Chairman,
Judiciary Committee, U. S. House of
Representatives*

**"Further Legislation Needed to
Implement Desegregation: State
and Federal"**

*Discussant: CLARENCE MITCHELL, Direc-
tor, Washington Office, NAACP*

2:45-3:15 P.M.

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR RE-
PORTS OF COMMITTEE ACTIV-
ITY (Palladian Room)**

*Presiding: FRANK F. LEE, University of
California, Riverside*

3:15-4:00 P.M. CONCURRENT COM- MITTEE MEETINGS

**NEW PROJECTS COMMITTEE
(Club Room)**

*Chairman, GEORGE H. WEBER, Minnesota
Youth Conservation Commission.*

**OCCUPATIONAL PROBLEMS
COMMITTEE (West Ballroom,
North Corner)**

*Chairman, ERWIN O. SMIGEL, Indiana
University*

**COMMITTEE ON CRIME AND
DELINQUENCY (West Ballroom,
South Corner)**

*Chairman, MARTIN NEUMEYER, Univer-
sity of Southern California*

**COMMITTEE ON SOCIOLOGY
OF PHYSICAL HEALTH (West
Ballroom, West Corner)**

*Chairman, ODIN W. ANDERSON, Health
Information Foundation*

**COMMITTEE ON ALCOHOLISM
(North Room)**

*Chairman, AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD, Texas
Christian University*

**COMMITTEE ON MENTAL
HEALTH (West Ballroom, Center)**

*Vice-Chairman, NORMAN HAWKINS, Uni-
versity of Washington*

**COMMITTEE ON INVIDIOUS
INTERGROUP RELATIONS (Blue
Room)**

*Chairman, WARREN BREED, Newcomb
College, Tulane University*

**COMMITTEE ON WAR AND
PEACE (Park Room)**

*Chairman, BRUCE L. MELVIN, University
of Maryland*

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS (Tamerlaine Room)

Chairman, JOS. R. GUSFIELD, University of Illinois

COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (West Ballroom, East Corner)

Chairman, FRANK W. SWEETSER, JR., Boston University

4:00-5:30 P.M. CONCURRENT COMMITTEE PROGRAMS

NEW PROJECTS COMMITTEE (Club Room)

Presiding: GEORGE H. WEBER, Minnesota Youth Conservation Commission

MOZELL C. HILL, Atlanta University

"The Sociology of Social Problems as Revealed in a Textbook for Graduate Teaching: A Critique"

GRESHAM M. SYKES, Princeton University

"Techniques of Neutralization—A Theory of Delinquency"

CHARLES K. WARRINER, University of Kansas

"Social Theory and Social Problems: A Paradigm and an Analysis"

JEROME HIMELHOCH, Brandeis University
"Personality Functions and Reference Groups: Toward A Unified Theory of Social Pathology"

Discussant: THEODORE M. MILLS, Harvard University

COMMITTEE ON SOCIOLOGY OF PHYSICAL HEALTH (West Ballroom, West Corner)

Presiding: ODIN W. ANDERSON, Health Information Foundation

INFORMAL DISCUSSION ON "Research Problems and Priorities in the Health Field of Concern to Social Science"

COMMITTEE ON ALCOHOLISM (North Room)

Presiding: AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD, Texas Christian University

HAROLD W. DEMONE, JR., New Hampshire State Dept. of Health; CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN, Hartford Seminary Foundation and AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD

"Some Socio-economic Concomitants of Alcoholism"

CHESTER L. HUNT, Western Michigan College; H. M. TRICE, Cornell University and DAVID PITTMAN, University of Rochester

"Significant Sociological Studies in the Alcohol Field Since 1940"

SELDON BACON, Yale University Center for Alcohol Studies and ROBERT STRAUS, College of Medicine, University of Kentucky

"Research Challenges to Sociologists in the Field of Alcohol Studies"

COMMITTEE ON MENTAL HEALTH (West Ballroom Center)

Presiding: SAMUEL M. STRONG, Carleton College

"Clinic on Hypotheses in the Field of Mental Health"

COMMITTEE ON INVIDIOUS INTERGROUP RELATIONS (Blue Room)

Presiding: WARREN BREED, Newcomb College, Tulane University

A Panel — "Needed Research on Desegregation"

JOSEPH H. FICHTER, S. J. Loyola University (of the South); PAUL B. FOREMAN, University of Alabama; MOZELL C. HILL, University of Atlanta; MORTON B. KING, JR., Southern Methodist University; EDWARD A. SUCHMAN, Cornell University; PRESTON VALIEN, Fisk University

COMMITTEE ON WAR AND PEACE (Park Room)

Presiding: BRUCE L. MELVIN, University of Maryland

T. C. TANG, former General in the National Armies of China

"Non-Aggression in the Old Confucian Culture"

VINCENT H. WHITNEY, Brown University
"Technology and Aggression"
 THEODORE F. LENTZ, Director, Attitude
 Research Laboratory, St. Louis
**"Needed Research: 'People Must
 Know People'"**

**COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZA-
 TIONAL DYNAMICS (Tamerlaine
 Room)**

Presiding: JOSEPH R. GUSFIELD, Univer-
 sity of Illinois
Subject: **"Organizational Theory
 and Empirical Research"**

HANS O. MAUSCH, St. Lukes Hospital,
 Chicago, Illinois
**"The Contributions of Hospital Re-
 search to Organized Theory"**

BERNARD KARSH, University of Illinois
**"The Contributions of Labor Union
 Studies to Organizational Theory"**

DWANE MARVICK, University of Cali-
 fornia at Los Angeles
**"Conditions Affecting Consensus
 Among Agency Personnel Concern-
 ing Those Who Are Powerful in
 Agency Politics"**

**COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY
 RESEARCH AND DEVELOP-
 MENT (West Ballroom, East Cor-
 ner)**

Presiding: FRANK W. SWEETSER, Jr.,
 Boston University

Discussion: **"The Harry Miller Re-
 port: Hypotheses Regarding Con-
 ditions Affecting Success of Com-
 munity Action Programs"**

8:00 P.M.

**PRESENTATION OF HELEN L.
 DeROY AWARD (West Ballroom)**

8:15 P.M.

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS (West
 Ballroom)**

"The American Crime Problem"
President, SSSP, MABEL A. ELLIOTT

9:00 P.M.

**SSSP RECEPTION (West Ball-
 Room)**

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27

8:30-10:00 A.M.

**MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
 COMMITTEE (Room to be an-
 nounced)**

10:00 A.M. to 12 Noon

JOINT SESSION (North Room)
**Society for the Study of Social
 Problems and National Associa-
 tion of Social Workers**

Presiding: RAYMOND F. GOULD, National
 Institute of Mental Health

**THE SOCIOLOGY OF MENTAL
 HEALTH (Terrace Banquet Room)**
**Studies in the Epidemiology of
 Mental Illness (Joint session with
 American Sociological Society)**

Co-Chairmen, JOHN A. CLAUSEN, Na-
 tional Institute of Mental Health, and
 E. GARTLY JACO, Dept. of Neuropsychia-
 try, University of Texas — Medical
 Branch

LEO SROLE and THOMAS S. LANGNER,
 Cornell University Medical Center
**"Treated and Untreated Mental
 Disorders in the Metropolis"**

E. GARTLY JACO, University of Texas —
 Medical Branch

**"Occupation and the Incidence of
 Mental Disorders"**

JEROME LAULICHT, Rip Van Winkle
 Foundation

**"Psychosocial Development of Ag-
 gressive Behavior: A Research
 Plan"**

JOHN A. CLAUSEN, National Institute
 of Mental Health

**"Some Major Issues in the Sociol-
 ogy of Mental Illness"**

CRIMINOLOGY (Park Room)
**Juvenile Delinquency and the
 Young Adult Offender (Joint ses-
 sion with American Sociological
 Society)**

Chairman, MARTIN H. NEUMEYER, Uni-
 versity of Southern California
 F. IVAN NYE, JAMES F. SHORT, Jr. and

VIRGIL J. OLSON, Washington State College

"Socio-Economic Status and Delinquent Behavior"

HERBERT A. BLOCH, Brooklyn College, and ARTHUR NIEDERHOFFER, New York City Police Department

"Adolescent Behavior and the Gang"

JACOB I. HURWITZ, B. R. HUTCHESON, M.D., and S. COOPER, South Shore Courts Clinic, Quincy, Mass.

"Toward a Clinically Meaningful and Dispositionally Relevant Classification of Delinquent Behavior"

WALTER C. RECKLESS, SIMON DINITZ and BARBARA KAY, Ohio State University

"The Self Component in Potential Delinquency and Potential Non-Delinquency"

MORRIS G. CALDWELL, University of Alabama

"Personality Trends in the Youthful Offender"

1:30-3:30 P.M.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION & DEVIANT BEHAVIOR (Park Room)

(Joint session with American Sociological Society)

Co-Chairmen, ALBERT K. COHEN, Indiana University, and RICHARD A. SCHERMERHORN, Western Reserve University

WILLIAM H. FORM and SIGMUND NOSOW, Michigan State University

"Role Conflict, Panic and Shock in a Disaster Situation"

HAROLD GARFINKEL, University of California, Los Angeles

"Trust" as a Condition of Stable Concerted Action"

READ BAIN, Miami University

"Our Schizoid Culture' 25 Years Later"

S. KIRSON WEINBERG, Roosevelt University

"Static and Dynamic Models in Social Disorganization Theory"

3:30-5:30 P.M.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF MENTAL HEALTH (Park Room)

Treatment Services and Processes (joint session with American Sociological Society)

Co-Chairmen, JOHN A. CLAUSEN, National Institute of Mental Health, and E. GARTLY JACO, Department of Neuropsychiatry, University of Texas — Medical Branch

OZZIE G. SIMMONS and HOWARD E. FREEMAN, Harvard School of Public Health

"A Survey of Interpersonal Performance and Family Settings of Former Mental Patients"

HENRY J. MEYER and EDGAR F. BORGATTA, New York University

"Research on a Post-Hospital Rehabilitation Program for Mental Patients"

ERVING GOFFMAN, National Institute of Mental Health

"Natural History of the Patient"

JOHN H. MABRY, E. I. SIEGAL, W. A. MANN, M.D., and A. McLAUGHLIN, R.N., New York State College of Medicine and Syracuse Veterans Administration Hospital

"Some Relationships between Social Interaction and Psychophysiology in Hospitalized Patients"

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28

9:00-11:00 A.M.

CRIMINOLOGY (West Ballroom)
Correctional Research (joint session with American Sociological Society)

Chairman, PAUL W. TAPPAN, New York University

PETER P. LEJINS, University of Maryland

"Changes in the Meaning of Incarceration"

DONALD R. CRESSEY and WITOLD KRASOWSKI, University of California, Los Angeles

"Inmate Organization in Soviet Labor Camps"

CLARENCE R. JEFFERY and WILLIAM LYLE, Southern Illinois University
"Small Group Analysis of a Prison Community"

HAROLD FINESTONE, Chicago Area Project

"The Reformation Process among Young Criminal Offenders"

ALEXANDER BASSIN, Kings County Probation Department, New York

"The Effect of Group Therapy upon the Attitudes and Perceptions of Adult Offenders on Probation"

RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS (Palladian Room)

(Joint session with American Sociological Society)

Chairman, GEORGE E. SIMPSON, Oberlin College

GEORGE E. SIMPSON and J. MILTON YINGER, Oberlin College

"Toward a Sociology of Race and Ethnic Relations"

JOEL V. BERREMAN, University of Oregon

"Filipino Stereotypes of Some National and Racial Minorities"

Other speakers to be announced

1:30-3:30 P.M.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF MENTAL HEALTH (Park Room)

Mental Health and Disorder in Old Age (Joint session with American Sociological Society)

Co-Chairmen, JOHN A. CLAUSEN, National Institute of Mental Health, and E. GARTLY JACO, Department of Neuropsychiatry, University of Texas—Medical Branch

W. S. WILLIAMS, M.D., Department of Neuropsychiatry, University of Texas

"Role Obsolescence in the Mental Disorders of Later Life"

SEYMOUR S. BELLIN and ROBERT H. HART, New York State Mental Health Research Unit

"Social Roles and Mental Disorder among the Aged"

OLIVE W. QUINN, MARIAN R. YARROW, E. GRANT YOUNG and PAUL BLANK, National Institute of Mental Health

"Relationships between Behavioral and Physiological Functioning in the Healthy Aged"

ELAINE CUMMING, University of Chicago

"Patterns of Successful Aging"

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29

9:00-11:00 A.M.

CRIMINOLOGY (Terrace Banquet Room)

(Joint session with American Sociological Society)

Chairman, MABEL A. ELLIOTT, Chatham College

MARSHALL B. CLINARD, University of Wisconsin

"Problems and Trends in Criminological Research"

EDWIN M. LEMERT, University of California, Davis

"The Behavior of Systematic Check Forgers"

NORMAN S. HAYNER, University of Washington

"Patterns in Prisoner Backgrounds"

LEE N. ROBINS and PATRICIA O'NEAL, M.D., Washington University School of Medicine

"The Relation of Childhood Behavior Problems to Mortality, Geographic Mobility, and Adult Criminality: A 30-year Follow-up Study of 525 Patients and 100 Controls"

1:30-3:30 P.M.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION & DEVIANT BEHAVIOR (Terrace Banquet Room)

(Joint session with American Sociological Society)

Co-Chairmen, ALBERT K. COHEN, Indiana University, and RICHARD A. SCHERMERHORN, Western Reserve University

ALBERT K. COHEN, Indiana University
"Problematics of the Field"

WALTER T. MARTIN and JACK P. GIBBS,
University of Oregon

"A Unifying Empirical Principle
in the Analysis of Variations in
Suicide Rates"

WARREN E. JAMES, Ohio State University

"Some Social Correlates of Continued
Addiction to Drugs"

MEDICINE AND SOCIOLOGY (North Room)

(Joint session with American Sociological Society)

Chairman, SAXON GRAHAM, Roswell Park
Memorial Institute

JULIUS A. ROTH, University of Chicago
"Social Science of Medical Treatment"

BERNARD KUTNER and CHARLES S. BRANT,
Albert Einstein College of Medicine

"Role Perceptions of Surgeons and
Surgical Patients"

LAWRENCE E. HINKLE, JR., M.D., Cornell
University Medical College

"The Relation between Illness, Culture
Change, and Social Dislocation
as Exemplified by the Study of
Homogeneous Population Groups"

RAY H. ELLING, Yale University

"Reflexive Self Concepts and Participation
in a Rheumatic Fever
Medical Program"

EMILY M. NETT, United States Air Force
"Some Social and Psychological
Correlates of Attitudes toward
Medical Doctors"

3:30-5:30 P.M.

RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS (West Ballroom)

Changing Patterns of Negro-White
Relations (Joint session with American
Sociological Society)

Chairman, J. MILTON YINGER, Oberlin
College

DAVID J. PITTMAN and WILLIAM L. HOLLAND,
University of Rochester

"Isolated Negro Penetration of
White Residential Areas in a Metropolitan
Community"

MORTON RUBIN, Northeastern University
"Localism and Related Values
Among Negroes in a Southern
Rural Community"

KARA ROUSSEAU SMITH, New Orleans,
Louisiana, and VERNON J. PARENTON,
Institute of Population Research, Louisiana
State University

"Cultural Patterns of Colored Creoles:
A Study of a Selected Segment of New
Orleans Negroes with French Cultural
Orientations"

MELVIN M. TUMIN and WARREN W. EASON,
Princeton University

"Readiness for and Resistance to
Integration"

LEWIS M. KILLIAN, The Florida State
University, and JOHN L. HAER, RAND
Corporation, Santa Monica, California

"Variables Related to Attitudes
Regarding School Desegregation
among White Southerners"

SSSP BOOKS OF READINGS

The Society has thus far sponsored three books of readings:

1. **Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach.** Edited by Arnold M. Rose. New York: Norton, 1955. xvi, 626 pp. \$4.90.

2. **Sexual Behavior in American Society: An Appraisal of the First Two Kinsey Reports.** Edited by Jerome Himmelfoch and Sylvia F. Fava. New York: Norton, 1955. 446 pp. \$4.00.

Faculty members are urged to consider these books for use as required reading in appropriate courses and to order them for their libraries.

3. Marvin Sussman, with the cooperation of the Committee on Community Research and Development, has been preparing a book of readings, **Community Science and Analysis**, which will be published by Knopf in the near future.

GUIDE FOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS AUTHORS

1. *Subject matter.* The function of **SOCIAL PROBLEMS**, the official journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, is to promote the objectives of the Society. These objectives, as stated in the Constitution, are to "stimulate the application of scientific method and theory to the study of vital social problems, encourage problem-centered social research, and foster cooperative relations among persons and organizations engaged in the application of scientific sociological findings to the formulation of social policies."

In accordance with these objectives, we seek papers falling in the following categories: (1) consideration of particular social problems and of relevant theories and research methods; (2) analysis of organizations, institutions, and movements which deal with social problems; (3) application of social science theory and research to the solution of social problems; and (4) discussion of the field of social pathology, of its relationship to broader disciplines, and of the professional problems of social pathologists and of applied social scientists.

In determining whether or not a submitted paper is "problem-oriented," we have found it useful to define a social problem as a social condition which (a) involves a conflict of values, persons, groups, or societies, or which (b) deprives persons, groups, or societies of the likelihood of realizing their values. Examples of social problems are ethnic prejudice and discrimination, family disorganization,

war and international tensions, curtailment of civil liberties and academic freedom, crime and delinquency, problems incident to the impact of mass communication on society, industrial and class conflict, the role of power elites in democratic societies, poverty, and physical and mental disease. We are interested in the application of social theory and research to the solution of social problems by such disciplines as medical sociology and social psychiatry; housing; penal administration; social work; and industrial sociology.

2. *Approach.* We seek articles which relate data to significant hypotheses having a social problem focus. As a general rule, we reject purely descriptive accounts, papers dealing with general theory or with research methodology unrelated to problem areas, research prospectuses, and manuscripts the major content of which is devoted to exhortation, praise, or blame.

3. *Style and format.* Manuscripts should be between 3,000 and 8,000 words in length, written in clear and forceful English, with technical terms used only when necessary for precise communication. Whenever possible, titles should be provocative, precise, and short. Research methods should be fully described. If a new instrument of observation (e.g., schedule, questionnaire, scale) is used, a copy should be sent with the manuscript. Footnotes, references, and tables should conform to the rules given below. The typescript copy should be in final form rather than a rough draft or a copy prepared

for oral delivery. This provision should make it unnecessary for the author to make changes in galley proofs other than correction of typographical errors. We reserve the right to charge the author for non-typographical changes in galley proofs.

4. *Miscellaneous specifications.* The author should submit three legible double-spaced typed (an original and two carbons), dittoed, or mimeographed copies, with ample margins on both sides of the page. For his own protection, he should also retain a copy for himself. This manuscript should include a cover page specifying title, author and occupational affiliation, including both department and university or organization. The author should indicate on the face sheet the number of words in his manuscript. Since the face sheet will be removed before the manuscript is sent to our editorial readers, the title (but no other identifying information) should also appear at the top of the first page of text. The three copies should be mailed to Jerome Himelhoch, Editor, SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. Manuscripts will be acknowledged upon receipt and, except in unusual circumstances, the author may expect a decision within a period of six to ten weeks. Rejected manuscripts will be returned.

If the author wishes to enter his paper in the competition for the Helen L. DeRoy Award of \$500, he should so inform the Editor. For details concerning the contest, he should consult the announcement in the most recent issue of SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

In asking to inspect an article, we do not commit ourselves to publish it. It is contrary to the policy of SOCIAL PROBLEMS to agree to publish any article until it has been received at our Editorial Office and accepted for publication by our Editorial Staff.

5. *Duplication of material published elsewhere.* A manuscript will not be published if any portion of its content has already been published in a book or journal. When an author has published other papers based upon the same study, he is obligated to so inform the editor and, whenever possible, to send reprints of other such articles with his manuscript. Papers published in SOCIAL PROBLEMS may not be reprinted without the permission of the Editor.

6. *Footnotes and references.* Comments, qualifications, etc., other than references

to published sources, should ordinarily be worked into the text rather than added as footnotes. When such footnotes are necessary, they should be indicated in the text by one asterisk for the first footnote on a page, two for the second, etc., and the corresponding footnotes should appear at the bottom of the page.

All references to published sources should be listed in alphabetical order by author at the end of the article and numbered consecutively there. Following the material for which a source is cited, the appropriate number (based on the terminal list of references) should be placed in parentheses. These citations should come *after* the period at the end of a sentence, but *before* all other punctuation.

If there are several citations to the same work but to different pages in it, the page numbers should be given in the parentheses immediately following the number of the reference in the text; in such cases, page numbers should be omitted from the citation in the list of references (except for journal articles, which should always have page numbers listed). If there is only one citation of a given source in the article, or several citations all to the same page or pages, the page number or numbers should be given in the list of references. Citations of published works in a footnote should follow the same rules as citations in the text.

Seriation should be done with (a) small letters in parentheses or (b) large Roman numbers followed by periods. Do *not* use Arabic numbers in parentheses, except for bibliographic references.

The author should cite references only to support his argument; he should not employ them to dazzle the reader with the magnitude of his erudition.

Following is a sample excerpt of text and a sample listing of references:

... Previous studies of crime (2, 4) have demonstrated the importance of childhood health, although later work (1; 3, pp. 191-193) has qualified these earlier conclusions. As Jeremiah has pointed out, however, "Not all healthy children escape adult criminal careers." (2, p. 303)

* * *

1. Articulate, John J., "Tuberculosis in the Childhood of Recidivists," *American Journal of Meta-Sociology*, 59 (February, 1984), 16-25.

2. Beowulf, Elvis, *The Medical Histories of 100 Criminals* (New York: Brooks, 1853).
3. Charisma, Dennie, and Peter J. Dysfunction, "Illness and Migration as Factors in the Criminal Career," *Social Problems*, 24 (July, 1976), 188-199.
4. Dement, Joan, and Robert P. Satyr, *Studies in the Etiology of Sexual Deviance* (Menosha, Wis.: Liberty Press, 1803), pp. 160-182.
7. *Tables*. The number of tables should be held to a minimum; they should be used only to give results not easily summarized in the text. We reserve the right to charge authors for more than four tables per manuscript. Tables should be numbered successively with arabic numerals. Titles should be short and substantive; categories and methodology should be clear from the row and column headings and from the text, rather than being spelled out in detail in the titles. Units of measurement and the number(s) of cases should always be shown. Irrelevant information, and information easily deduced by the reader, should be eliminated. The following is a sample table:

TABLE 1.
SOCIAL SETTING ON ADMISSION
AND RELEASE*

Admission	Release		
	With Kin	Not with Kin or with Different Kin	N
Living with kin	53	11	64
Not living with kin	2	12	14
	55	23	78

*For 7 cases there was insufficient information. For the statistical test for significant shift in the marginals, $.02 > p > .01$.

Each table should be typed on a separate sheet of paper. The author should indicate where each table should appear in the text.

8. *Numbers*. Spell out numbers from zero to nine in ordinary text, all numbers

which begin a sentence, and round numbers indicating approximations (e.g., "in a population of 165 million." "Some five thousand replies were received . . ."). Do not spell out numbers 10 and over in ordinary text, numbers used with terms of measurement, page numbers, and numbers in a series where the largest number would not be spelled out ("Among the respondents were 6 Jews, 9 Catholics, and 53 Protestants."). Numbers used with terms of measurement should appear as numbers; the terms themselves, however, should be spelled out: "5 per cent," "critical ratio of 3.6," "significant at the 1 per cent level."

9. *Headings*. Primary headings are usually sufficient to indicate divisions of an article. They should be centered, with all letters capitalized. Secondary headings should be side headings (such as those used in this memorandum) with only the first word capitalized, starting with the usual paragraph indentation, and followed on the same line with the beginning of a new paragraph. Secondary headings should be underlined for italics.

HELEN L. DERÖY AWARD AND CALL FOR MANUSCRIPTS FOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The Helen L. DeRoy Award of \$500 for research and writing in social problems has been renewed for 1957-1958. For further details see the announcement on the outside back cover of this issue. Members are urged to solicit manuscripts for the Award and for submission to the Journal from their colleagues and students and also to submit their own manuscripts. Papers may be submitted any time between August 1, 1957 and March 1, 1958—the sooner the better. Our Editorial Staff can promise a speedy decision regarding eligibility for the Helen L. DeRoy Award competition and acceptance for publication in *SOCIAL PROBLEMS*. Ineligible papers will be promptly returned. For details concerning appropriate subject matter and editorial specifications, see *Guide for SOCIAL PROBLEMS Authors* on page 60.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION

To the Editor:

I would like to call your attention to an important omission of part of my article entitled "Social Factors in Mental Disorders in Texas," appearing in the April, 1957, issue of *SOCIAL PROBLEMS*. I refer to the sentences beginning at the bottom of the left-hand column of page 326, which were published as follows:

"Data are needed on social conditions existing at the time of *first* onset of illness in order to determine social etiology. Areal studies, ecological or otherwise, of mental disorders do not meet this need, although they are capable of finding new facts as well as more reliable and valid data, about social factors related to mental illness."

Due to unfortunate editing without my knowledge, an error in interpretation occurred which I would hasten to correct. In order to convey my original meaning on this matter, the statement should be changed to read as follows:

"Data are needed on social conditions existing at the time of *first* onset of illness in order to determine social etiology. Areal studies, ecological or otherwise, that employ hospital admissions *only* as their basic data do not meet this requirement, since conditions affecting admission will be confounded with those affecting the onset of the illness. When all modes and sources of psychiatric treatment are included in such studies, then their findings are capable of obtaining new facts and can contribute to a further understanding of social factors related to mental illness."

Your help in bringing this correction to the attention of the readers of *SOCIAL PROBLEMS* would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

E. GARTLY JACO, PH.D.,

Associate Professor of Medical Sociology,
Director, Division of Medical Sociology,
University of Texas Medical Branch,
Galveston, Texas



